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HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

BY

LEON LEGRAIN



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## INTRODUCTION

Reconstructing ancient history in Babylonia before B.C. 2000 up to 4000, and even to the kings after the flood, has become possible, thanks to the material provided by the Nippur excavations. A summary classification of unpublished tablets in the Museum collections has led to the discovery of fragments of historical import. They have been collected in the present volume. Prominent among them are: the chronological fragments, the portrait of King Ibi-Sin, and his official despatches at the time of the revolt of Isbi-irra, the founder of the Isin dynasty. They will be studied in turn along with less important, or comparatively more recent, fragments of the Cassite and Neo-Babylonian period. Due allowance should be made for further corrections to difficult Sumerian texts of damaged fragments.

The main enlightening fact is that we gain a sure footing for more than two thousand years of history before the foundation of the first Babylonian empire—the empire of Hammurabi, when Abraham was a citizen of Ur in Chaldæa—a fact that brings the early Babylonian to the level of, if not before, the Egyptian chronology. Indeed it was not a Babylonian, but a Sumero-Akkadian chronology. And the problem of origins is furthermore complicated with a racial problem. Among the 11 royal cities that had in turn the honor of governing the land between the actual region of Bagdad and the sea, some like Kiš, Upi, Akkad (Maer, Isin), belong to Akkadians a Semitic race; some like Uruk, Ur, Adab (Hamazi, Larsa), to a non-Semitic race: the Sumerians. The first known kingdom was the Semitic kingdom of Kiš. But all civilization, art, religion looked toward the Sumerian south as its cradle. The Sumerian land that extended for about 150 miles from Nippur to Eridu on the sea was the land of origins. The creation of the world was

the work of Ea the god of Eridu. At the same place the Sumerians were taught the art of writing by the fish-god—the Oannes of the Greek tradition. The hero of the flood lived in Šuruppak, and Gilgameš was king of Uruk. The great god of heaven, Anu, was worshiped in the same city. Enlil, the lord of all countries, was enthroned in his temple-mountain at Nippur. The religious tradition of the land hung between those two poles, Eridu and Nippur. The moon god of Ur, the regulator of times, was only the son of Enlil, and the sun god of Larsa was in turn the son of the moon god of Ur. Most remarkably Eridu and Nippur were only shrines and never capital of the kingdom. We may complete the picture of Sumer by noting that the kings of Ur were Sumerians—Ibi-Sin reproaching Isbi-irra for not being of Sumerian race—and that toward the same time<sup>1</sup> at Nippur three-fifths of the inhabitants were Sumerian, and two-fifths Semite.

When the whole land of Sumer and Akkad was united, and Babylon was a new capital for a new race, the religious significance of Sumer survived, and dead Sumerian language was used exclusively for all sort of religious compositions and records. Previous to the “usurpations” of Marduk of Babylon, and his satellite Nabu, the Semite Akkadians could boast only a great sanctuary of the sun god of Sippar. Sippar seems to have been the early center of Akkadian influence. The city gave its proper name to the Euphrates, which was known as the river of Sippar to the Sumerians. All the cities of Kiš, Upi, Babylon are located in the same region. South of Nippur began Sumer, or later on the kingdom of the sea.

Among so many questions connected with the early settlement and religious influence of the Sumerians we will single out only two, and give them only a provisional answer. How are we to understand the high number of years of the first kings recorded by chronology? Was Nippur on the Euphrates or on the Tiger?

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<sup>1</sup> See proper names in Drehem tablets.



The moon was the first regulator of time. Twelve lunar months formed a cycle or short year. And only the necessity to keep in touch with a regular course of seasons, forced to double one month, and add an extra 13th month every second or third year.<sup>1</sup> This confirms the priority of the moon god Sin, on the sun god Babbar. To the last time of the Sumerian kingdoms we know that religious ceremonies used to attend the rising of the new moon, the time of the full moon, the time of its disappearance. There were shrines—like the temple of Tiraš in Lagaš—specially consecrated to that purpose. Other chapels were called: house of the new moon and of the 15th of the moon. No computation could ever supersede that reappearance of the moon at intervals of 29 or 30 days. It was the only fixed rule. The names of the months in keeping with the seasons, the place of the 13th month was a matter of free speculation and varied from one city to another. As far back as 2300 B.C., we know at the same time 4 different calendars in the cities of Lagaš, Umma, Nippur and Drehem. The Sumerian name of the monthly period of time is: *bal*.<sup>2</sup> Later on we find that *palû* is a fixed period, the length of a reign, used also for one (solar) year of the reign. But the length of a *palû* is a secondary idea. The first meaning is: a fixed period of time. In Sumerian times the *palû* was a lunar month. Archeology can help us a little farther on. The sign *bal*, *palû*, is the picture and has the meaning of a weapon, a long lance driven into the ground.<sup>3</sup> The shaft is ornamented with cross lines representing a hilt or side buckle. The same lance in the same position is a well-known symbol on early seal cylinders. It may figure in the hands of Gilgameš and Eabani, in connection with the sun god, and often surmounted by a star or a crescent. Now the very ideogram of the new moon: the brilliant Nannar, is no other than the same

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 14-15: six extra months in 16 years. Space of time: *bal*, *ibid.*, p. 7-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *bal-gub-ba* in lists of accounts.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the *palus* of the Latins.

lance driven into the ground (*šes-ki*).<sup>1</sup> Had the Sumerian the habit of driving a lance into the ground for each new moon?<sup>2</sup> In fact the dating of the oldest tablets—from Šuruppak—is not by solar year (*mu-an-na*), but by periods: *bal*, that may very well be lunar months. A more recent expression is still vague: *ud-ba*: “in the days of . . .” Why should we not consider the figures of the first kings as so many periods of lunar months of 29½ days? The second dynasty of Kiš, reduced that way, gives instead of 3792 (*bal*), a theoretical number of 278 sun-years.

Was Nippur on the bank of the Euphrates or the Tiger? The question has been considered as settled. Was not Šurippak a city south of Nippur on the Euphrates? Do not the texts of the “Murashu sons”<sup>3</sup> at the time of the Persian kings mention the river of Sippar to Nippur? That is true, but they mention also the old Tiger (Diglat labiri). The texts of the Cassite<sup>4</sup> period know the Tiger of the god Enlil (<sup>nar</sup> Diglat <sup>d</sup> En-lil <sup>ki</sup>), the Tiger of Nippur. King Rim-Sin digs down to the sea, the Tiger, the river of the gods, meaning probably the great sanctuaries. King Sin-idinam,<sup>5</sup> of Larsa, states expressly that he dug the Tiger to water his land and city. The earliest testimony is supplied by Gudea<sup>6</sup> of Lagaš: “in Nippur the water of the Tiger did not rise any more.” Whether the Tiger itself or a large canal derived from it passed across Nippur, it seems, anyhow, that in Sumerian time the larger connection and the main stream were derived from the Tiger, without excluding connection with the Euphrates along the river of Sippar. That is why we attempted on the reconstruction map in this volume to identify the old Tigris with possibly the Habl-es-Sachr. The bearing of this old line of communication on the first Sumerian

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Urigallu*.

<sup>2</sup> Their word for year: *mu-an-na* “the celestial name” is the picture of an arrow, sharp point down.

<sup>3</sup> BE. IX. X.

<sup>4</sup> BE. XVII.

<sup>5</sup> SAK. p. 208, 210.

<sup>6</sup> Cyl. A. I, 9; XXVIII, 13.

settlement may be considerable. Despite all the reed shrines (*é-gi-par*; *gi-gunu*) they would build in the "eden" the new conquered lowland, the Sumerians would still remember the early shrine of Enlil dwelling on the top of the mountain. And their land, religion, civilization expanded between those two landmarks: the *ziggurra*t of Nippur, and the *absu* (temple-abyss) of Eridu.

Two tables, one of the Nippur chronology, the other a geographical list, are here appended, as a short way of summing up the new data.

L. L.

May, 1921





# Nippur Chronology \*

BC.	Kings	Kiś. I	Years.
[ 5000 ]		[ 1-um-e. [ 1-an-[ I [ 1-bu-um. [ Uš- ] ba(?) [ ]-tabba. Galu-mu-um Zu-ga-gi-ib Ar-pi Etana (sib) Wa-li-α En-me-nun-na Me-lam-kiš-(i)-ki Bar-sal-nun-na Mes-za-mug En-giš-gū En-me-dur-mes-e(?) [ ]-za En-me-bara-gi-šu(?) [ ] Ag 23 Uruk. I Mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir En-me-ir-kar Lugal-banda Dumu-zi (šu-ha-g) Giš-bil-ga-mes [ ]-lugal 6 Ur. I Mes-an-ni-pad-da Mes-ki-ag-nun-na E-lu-lu. Ba-lu-lu. 4 Awan 4 I69 3 [ Ur. II ] 3813 4 Kiś II. 3705 4 Ha-ma-zi 3427 [ I-ni-iš [ Kiś. III ] 3420	900 900 840 720 635 410 611 900 1200      900 625 18000... 325 420 1200 100 126  80 30 25 36 171  356  108  3792 (?) 7 7

(CBS. 14223)  
Te[ ]  
Ba-la-gi-na-nu-Lum]75  
Na-an-giš-li-iš-ma

Total of:		
Dynasties.	Kings.	Years.
4 Kiś	51 (?)	18000...
5 Uruk	22	2610...
3 Ur	13	396
1 Awan	3	356
1 Hamazi	1	7
1 Adab	1	90
1 Mari	[2..]	[ 30.. ]
1 Upi	6	99 (125?)
1 Agade	12	197
1 Guti	21	124 (125?)
1 Isin	11	159
[ or ]	[16]	[ 225 1/2 ]
Royal cities: II	[ ]	[ ]
To Enlil-bani	134	28876..
To Damiq-ilišu	139	32243 ]

Šuruppak  
Dada  
Haladda  
Ur-ninpa  
Kaniši  
Maš-šuruppak  
Ur-nin-kurra.

Kiś	Lagaš	Umma.
Utug p. son of Ba-zu-zu	Lugal-sag-engur p.	Suru-uš-gi. p.
Meslim k.	Bašu k.	
Ur-zag-e k.	En-hegal k.	
Lugal [ ]	Gursar	
Lugal-tar-si k.	Gunidu	E-abzu. k.
Al-zu (?)	Ur-nina	Uš p.
	Akurgal	
E-an-na-tum (PBS. IV p. 129)	E-an-natum	En-akalli. p.
	En-an-na-tum	Ur-lumma. k.
	En-temena	p. Ili p.
	En-an-na-tum	p. Ukuš p.

NB. Outside the main list, kings (k), patesis (p), have been classed only approximately, or not at all. — Years BC. are reconstructed on a theoretical estimate of Kiś II. 272 (sun y.), Kiś III. 70, Uruk II. 110, Mari. 59, Kiś IV. 166, Guti. 124, Uruk V. 50

BC. 3350	[ Uruk. II ]				Lagaš En-e-lar-zi En-li-tar-zi Lugal-anda En-gil-sa Urukagina Ur babbar Lugal-usumgal Ur-e Lugal-bur Baša-mama Ur-mama Ug-me	Umma En-nalum p. En-nalum p. Lugal-zaggi-si p. Kur-šeš p. p. Amil [ ] p. Mesiggan. p. Lugal-annatum. p. Galu-babbar p. p. Lu <sup>d</sup> Sara p. Mes-e p.
3240	Adab Lugal-an-ni-mu-un-du Mari	90	90	Esar-lugal-da-lu Esar-me-i-gi-[ ] Mari		
3150	An-sir I-gi	30		I-šamas (BM. 90828)		
3091	Upi Un-zi. Un-da-lu-lu Ur-sag Ba-ša <sup>a</sup> Saḥan I-šu-il Šu <sup>a</sup> En-zu	30 12 6 20 24 7		Zu-zu Upi	Nippur Ur <sup>a</sup> Enlil Lugal-sur-zu	Magan Mannu-dannu  Barahšu Aba-al-gamaš
2992	Kiš. IV [Azag <sup>a</sup> Ba-u Ba-ša <sup>a</sup> En-zu Ur <sup>a</sup> Za-ma-ma Zi-mu-dar U-zi-wa-dar El-mu-ti I-gul <sup>i</sup> Šamas Na-ni-ia-aḥ	25 [20...] 30 6 II II 3	99		Kazalla/u Kašubilaš A-bi-la-ša Gimil-mama Baša-mama Iah-zar-ili Ba-ša <sup>a</sup> Nu-muš-da Apinak Riś-Hadad	Basime Ilisurabi, p. Ibalum, p.  Marad Libetili p. Lišalum p. Tu-lu-ki Na-bi <sup>*</sup> maš. p.
2726	Uruk. III. Lugal-zag-gi-si Agade	25	166 (192?)	Agade Bin-ga-ni-šarri. Da-it-En-lil	Uruk-Ur-Sumer Lugal-zaggisi, k. Lugal-ki-gub-ni-du-du.k Puš Lugal-kisal-si k. Ahuma En-šag-kušanna	
2701	Šār-ru-ki-in	55		(Scheil) A-ba-am [ ]	(CBS. 14220) Ma-nu-um [ ]	Sabum Ka-azag. k. of Ur. Abummisar Abumilu
2646	Ri-mu-uš	15		I-gi-gi [ ]	Ma-nu-um la [ ]	Gimil-sin-bani Arad <sup>n</sup> Nannar
2631	Ma-ni-iš-te-šu	7		I-mi-ilu	Ir-di-[ ]	Simanu Abušam
2624	Na-ra-am <sup>i</sup> Sin	56		Na-nu-um-šarru	Ma-ni-iš-te-su Me-sal-im	
2568	Šār-ga-ni-šār-ri Manu-um šarru Manu-um la šarru	25		I-lu-lu šarru	I-l [ ]	Marhaš Libanuk-šabaš
2543	I-gi-gi šarru I-mi šarru Na-ni šarru E-lu-lu šarru	3		Huršitu (Asiru) puhia	Ašnunak Kallamu Ituria Gibil-lama Kutha Gudea Namzitarra	Ursag-pakabdu Ur-mes  Garhar Kisari
2540	Du-du	21		Malou Ibiq-ištar	Dungi-babbar Namzitarra	Dungi-zi-mu Tupa Amur-sin
2519	Šu-qar-kib	15	197	Dungi-babbar Ur-pa-sag	Adamdun Baa Nagidda Urgišginar Qalbaa U-ba-a	Ur+u Dungi-zi-mu Tupa Amur-sin
2504	Uruk. IV Ur-nigin Ur-giš-ginar Ku-da Ba-ša-ili Ur <sup>a</sup> Utu	3 6 6 5 6		Kisurra Idin-ilu p. Itur-šamas <sup>p</sup>	Ba-a Nagidda Urgišginar Qalbaa U-ba-a	Ur+u Ur-sin  Hamaši Ur-adad Arad <sup>n</sup> Nannar
			26	Adab Habalu Ur <sup>d</sup> [ ] Galud Utu	Daburum Lu-bal-sag-ga [ ] I-wa-qar	Lulubi Anu-banini Satuni  Dér Anu-mutabbil

[illegible]

*Cities of Sumer and Akkad.*

𒂍𒂗	KIŠ	Kiś <sup>ki</sup>	(El-Oheimir.)	<sup>d</sup> Za-mà-mà. <sup>E</sup> me-le-ur-sag.
𒂍𒂗𒂗	URUK	Unu(g) <sup>ki</sup> -ga	(Warka)	Anu. <sup>d</sup> Nana. <sup>d</sup> Ninni. <sup>d</sup> Innina. <sup>E</sup> -an-na
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗	UR	Uri <sup>ki</sup> -ma	(Muqajjar.)	<sup>d</sup> En-zu. <sup>d</sup> Nanna(r). <sup>il</sup> Sin. <sup>d</sup> Nin-gal. { <sup>E</sup> kiš-šir-gal. <sup>E</sup> -temen-niil. <sup>E</sup> -kar-zi-da.
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	AWAN	Api-an <sup>ki</sup>	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Ha-ma-zi <sup>ki</sup>	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Adab <sup>ki</sup>	(Bismaja)	<sup>d</sup> Nin-sun(?) . <sup>E</sup> -mah.
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	MAER	Ma-ri <sup>ki</sup>	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	UPI	Uhu <sup>ki</sup>	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	AKKADU	Agade <sup>ki</sup>	( )	<sup>il</sup> Ištar. <sup>E</sup> -ul-maš.
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	GUTIUM		( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Isin <sup>ki</sup> -na	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	ERIDU	Erida <sup>ki</sup>	(Abushahrein.)	<sup>d</sup> En-ki. <sup>d</sup> Nun. <sup>il</sup> Ea. <sup>d</sup> Damgalnunna. <sup>E</sup> -abzu
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	LARSA	Arar <sup>ki</sup> -ma	(Senkerezeh.)	<sup>d</sup> Utu. <sup>d</sup> Babbar. <sup>E</sup> -babbar
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Umma <sup>ki</sup>	(Djôcha)	<sup>d</sup> Šara. <sup>d</sup> Nidaba
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Lagaš <sup>ki</sup>	(Tello)	{ <sup>d</sup> Ningirsu. <sup>E</sup> -ninnû. <sup>d</sup> Bau. <sup>E</sup> -sil-sir-sir <sup>Girsu</sup> <sup>ki</sup> { <sup>d</sup> Ninâ. <sup>E</sup> -sal-gilsa. <sup>E</sup> šeš-šeš-e-gà-ra <sup>d</sup> En-lil. <sup>d</sup> Nin-lil. <sup>E</sup> -kur.
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	NIPPUR	Nibru <sup>ki</sup>	(Niffer.)	<sup>d</sup> Nin-mah. <sup>d</sup> Nin-lu(d). <sup>d</sup> Nin-harsag. <sup>E</sup> -mah
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Kēš <sup>ki</sup>	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Aratta <sup>ki</sup>	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Suruppak <sup>ki</sup>	(Fāru.)	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Kisurra <sup>ki</sup>	(Abuhatab.)	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	HALLAB	Zababu <sup>ki</sup>	( )	<sup>il</sup> Ištar. <sup>E</sup> -zi-kalamma
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Kullab <sup>ki</sup>	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Marad <sup>ki</sup> -da	(Wannet-eo Sa'dūn.)	<sup>il</sup> Šar-maradda
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Ereš <sup>ki</sup>	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	KUTHA	Kutu <sup>ki</sup>	(Tell-Ibrahim.)	<sup>d</sup> Nergal. <sup>d</sup> Ereški gal. <sup>il</sup> Laaz. <sup>E</sup> -meslam.
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	SIPPAR	Zimbir <sup>ki</sup>	(Abu-Habba.)	<sup>il</sup> Šamaš. <sup>il</sup> Aa. <sup>il</sup> Anunit. <sup>E</sup> -babbar
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	BABILU	Kā-dingir <sup>ki</sup> -ra	(Babil.)	<sup>il</sup> Marduk. <sup>il</sup> Zarpanitu. <sup>il</sup> Amal. <sup>il</sup> Annunitu. <sup>E</sup> sagil
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	DILBAT		(Dēlam.)	<sup>d</sup> Uraš. <sup>E</sup> -ide anim[kalama]
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	ELAMTU	Nim <sup>ki</sup>	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	ŠUŠAN	Susa <sup>ki</sup>	(Shush)	<sup>il</sup> Šušinak. <sup>d</sup> Nin. <sup>il</sup> Šušimki. ( <sup>E</sup> )a-ar-ge-šú.
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	DUPLIAŠ	Aš-nun-na <sup>ki</sup>	( )	<sup>il</sup> Tišpak.
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		id. Eš-nun-na <sup>ki</sup>	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	DER	Bād-dingir <sup>ki</sup>	( )	<sup>il</sup> Kadi
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	DUR-MATI	Bād-ma-da <sup>ki</sup>	( )	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	DUR-GURGURI	Bād-urudu-nagar <sup>ki</sup>	(Tell-Sifr.)	
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗		Kazallu <sup>ki</sup>	( )	<sup>d</sup> Nu-(lúg)-muš-da
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	BIT-KARKAR	Irr <sup>ki</sup>	( )	<sup>d</sup> Immer. <sup>il</sup> Ramman. <sup>E</sup> -udgal-gal.
𒂍𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗	BARSIPPA	Barsip <sup>ki</sup>	(El-Birs)	<sup>il</sup> Nabū. <sup>il</sup> Tašmetu. <sup>il</sup> Tutu. <sup>E</sup> -zida

## TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

Nos. 1, 2

### LISTS OF KINGS

Two new fragments of the list of kings have been recovered among the few uncatalogued tablets in the Museum collections. They are of unusual importance in reconstructing the history of Sumer and Akkad before B.C. 3000. Their great interest lies in the fact that they restore the main lines of the Babylonian chronology as set down among Nippur scholars at the end of the Isin dynasty about B.C. 2000. The Greek tradition of Abydenos and Berossos must be traced back to it. They moreover give us new kings and dynasties, they fix for the first time the length of reign and succession of the kings of Akkad, and complete our information about the Gutí and the Kings of Kiš.

Nippur standard work on chronology seems to have been a twelve column tablet: six on the obverse from left to right and six on the reverse from right to left. Column 12 is accordingly the reverse of Column 1, and Column 11 is opposed to Column 2. The 10 first columns are a detailed catalogue of the kings, dynasty by dynasty. Columns 11 and 12 sum up the total of kings and years for each royal city among the 11 which had in turn, once or more, the honor of being capital of the kingdom. The lower part of Column 12 is a last total of the kings and years of all the 11 cities together.

The royal canon when complete would be a most precious document and would help us to fix the lines of Babylonian history from the legendary time of the kings after the flood, down to the end of the Isin dynasty. We would learn the names of the kings, the length of their reigns, their relation of father and son, the dynasty to which they belong, the name of their capital, the



peculiarities of its foundation; the total of kings and years for each dynasty; how many dynasties successively or at intervals reigned in the same capital; the order of the dynasties. Unfortunately our evidence is very fragmentary. Not one tablet has been preserved in relative completeness. The biggest fragment is scarcely a half of it. Top and bottom of all columns are broken off, and the mangled text calls for necessary reservations. Before the new fragments had been recovered, even the names of the 11 royal cities were uncertain. We knew at the best that from the flood to Enlil-bani of Isin 134 kings, or 139 to Damiqilišu of the same dynasty, had governed the land. The number of years which had elapsed during the same period of time was figured as 28,875 or 32,243, according to the list of 134 or 139 kings. And all attempts to supply by indirect computation the missing portions of the text seemed fruitless and misleading, as will be proved by a study of the new fragments.

Even the new and welcome information supplied by them does not blind us to the fact that absolutely reliable chronology is actually out of question, not only because a legendary number of years is attributed to the kings of the first dynasty of Kiš (some 6, 7, 8 or 9 hundred years each), but because the texts so far published do not agree in all details. Whether the various readings have to be traced back to the old scribe or to the modern copyist has to be further established. One tablet published by A. POEBEL attributes 125 years to the Gutí dynasty, where we have only 124. The total number of the kings of Kiš is read 51 by POEBEL and 38 by HOMMEL. And should all modern copies of the damaged fragments be correct, a fact has become more and more forcible: there was not one, but many royal lists, kept up to date in Nippur with each new reign, as is proved by the various computations of 134 and 139 kings. Various readings might be incorporated in the new copy, *e. g.*, the names of the successors of Šargani-šarri in POEBEL No. 3 and in the new fragment. The common use of two languages, Sumerian and Akkadian, might lead to a translation of the proper names

and be a source of confusion. The most striking discrepancies are manifested by a comparison of the Nippur tradition with a text originating from Kiš (Oheimir) and published by SCHEIL. Here Queen Azag-Bau is the supposed founder of the (4th?) dynasty of Kiš, where she reigned 100 (or 14) years. Nippur text ignores Azag-Bau except as the mother of the first king Baša-Enzu. Rival cities of Sumer and Akkad had more than one local tradition. The problem of parallel dynasties is one of the most troublesome for Babylonian chronologists. We should wisely refrain from forcing any new name of a king into a gap of the Nippur list, until it is well established that it did really belong to it.

Our material for reconstructing early chronology between B.C. 4000 and 2000 includes the following tablets or fragments:

Already published:

1. CBS. 13981. Nippur fragment.<sup>1</sup> It gives the beginning and the end of the list of kings. Its text extends across Cols. 1, 2, 3 and 10, 11, 12. It has a total of 134 kings.

2. CBS. 13994. Nippur fragment.<sup>2</sup> Its text corresponds to portions of Cols. 1, 2 and 7, 8 (Dynasty of Akkad).

3. CBS. 13293. Nippur fragment.<sup>3</sup> Its text covers portions of Cols. 1 and 12, and gives a total of 139 kings.

4. CBS. 19797. Nippur fragment. The reverse is a catalogue of the dynasties of Ur and Nisin early published by H. V. HILPRECHT.<sup>4</sup> The obverse has been identified by A. POEBEL<sup>5</sup> with Cols. 1 and 2 of the list of kings. It is probably a late copy made at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon.

5. CBS. 15365. Nippur fragment. No facsimile, but only a translation of the reverse has been given by POEBEL.<sup>6</sup> FR. HOMMEL<sup>7</sup> claims to have been the first to identify the fragment

<sup>1</sup> A. POEBEL, PBS. Vol. V, No. 2; Vol. IV, 1, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> A. POEBEL, PBS. Vol. V, No. 3; Vol. IV, 1, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> A. POEBEL, PBS. Vol. V, No. 4; Vol. IV, 1, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> BE. Vol. XX, 1, pl. 30, No. 47 and pl. XV.

<sup>5</sup> PBS. V. No. 5; Vol. IV, 1, p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> PBS. Vol. IV, 1, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> In J. B. NIES, *Ur Dynasty Tablets* (1920), p. 205 and note 4.



and to give a correct interpretation of the text. The original is missing, a fact much to be regretted, as the text is obviously a portion of Col. 11, and, if correctly copied, supplies unique information. A city, the name of which is lost, but is supposed by HOMMEL to have been Upi, was 6 times a capital, with [11 ?] kings who reigned 125 years. We know only 1 kingdom of Upi with 6 kings who reigned 99 years. And no known city has been a capital so many times (Uruk 5, Kiš 4, Ur 3 times). It is not easy to reconcile this evidence with the other chronological data.<sup>1</sup>

6. V. SCHEIL: "Les plus anciennes dynasties de Sumer et d'Akkad."<sup>2</sup> A large single column tablet, originating from Kiš (Oheimir). Its text, parallel to Nippur list Cols. 6, 7 and 8, was, to the present day, the only catalogue of the dynasties of Upi, Kiš, Uruk, Akkad, Uruk, to the Gutti invasion between B.C. 2250 and 3000. Unfortunately the lower part of the obverse is broken off, depriving us of reliable information on the kings of Akkad from Sargon to Šargani-šarri. This gap is now bridged over by the new fragments.

The new fragments:

7. CBS. 14220. Nippur fragments. The main portion has been published in the *Museum Journal*, December, 1920. It is the first publication of the Nippur list, Cols. 4 to 9, with a few signs of Cols. 3 and 10 very useful to link it up with the text of the fragment CBS. 13981. It does not belong to the same identical tablet. Their thicknesses are different. It is still more damaged. Top and bottom of all columns are missing. Its importance lies in the fact that it allows a complete survey of the list. The four new dynasties of Kiš, Hamazi, Adad, Mari, complete the number of the 11 royal cities, which should read as follows:

<sup>1</sup> It has been omitted by POEBEL, and simply mentioned as possible 24th to 29th dynasties. PBS. Vol. IV, 1, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, Oct., 1911, p. 606.

Kiš	4 times capital of the kingdom, 51 (?) kings,	18000 . . . years.
Uruk	5 times capital of the kingdom, 22 kings,	2610 . . . years.
Ur	3 times capital of the kingdom, 13 kings,	396 years.
Awan	1 time capital of the kingdom, 3 kings,	356 years.
Hamazi	1 time capital of the kingdom, 1 king,	7 years.
Adab	1 time capital of the kingdom, 1 king,	90 years.
Mari	1 time capital of the kingdom, 2 . . . kings,	30 . . . years.
Upi	1 time capital of the kingdom, 6 kings,	99 years.
Akkad	1 time capital of the kingdom, 12 kings,	197 years.
Gutium	1 time capital of the kingdom, 21 kings,	124 years + 40 d
Nisin	1 time capital of the kingdom, 11 kings,	159 years.
	(or 16 kings,	225½ years).
11 cities, down to Enlil bani of Isin:		134 kings, 28876 years
(or down to Damiq ilišu of Isin:		139 kings, 32243 years).

It is evident that the number of kings of Kiš is too high by perhaps 10 units, but as we do not know the exact number of kings of Mari, it is better not to attempt to correct it, till another text has been found. The number of years calls for a higher criticism. We are faced with a well-known problem. How could the early kings live such a fabulous number of years? Or what was the length of their years? The moon god, the lord of knowledge, is the first regulator of times. The reappearance of the new moon, its wanderings or stations across the sky marked the first known periods of weeks and months. We do not know when the solar year was first in use. A second Adar, or extra thirteenth month every four years, simply establishes the fact of a primitive cycle of 12 lunar months. The solar system is secondary. Babbar of Larsa was considered as the son of the moon god of Ur. Perhaps the first kings after the flood had no command of well-developed writing. A greater part of tradition was trusted to memory. That tradition as expressed in our list of kings attributes a high number of years to the earliest kings. We are to respect those figures, even when we are presently unable to account for them. Besides, the fragmentary condition of our documents prevents any checking of them.

The four new dynasties of Kiš, Ḥamazi, Adab and Mari take place in the list after Kiš, Uruk, Ur, Awan, and before Upi, Kiš, Uruk, Agade, Gutī, Ur, Isin. The new Kiš dynasty may be the second. Such kings of Kiš as Mesilim, Urzage, Lugal-tarsi, Alzu(?) may belong to its 4 (or 6) kings. They were contemporary with King Urnina of Lagaš. The 3d dynasty of Kiš is still conjectural. It must perhaps be placed before Mari and Upi. King Eannadu of Lagaš was also king of Kiš.<sup>1</sup>

The name of the king of Ḥamazi, is only partly preserved: [ ]-ni-iš. The length of his reign is derived from CBS. 13981, Col. 11, toward the end. In the sum of kings and years for each royal city, it seems natural that Ḥamazi should take rank after Ur and Awan. The last sign of Col. 11 as preserved in the fragment seems likely the beginning of ḤA. The city is mentioned on a fragment of stone vase,<sup>2</sup> one of the earliest inscriptions of Nippur. It is a votive offering to the god Zamama, by Utug patesi of Kiš, son of Bazuzu, who defeated Ḥamazi. Centuries later on, at the time of Gimil-Sin of Ur, Arad-Nannar<sup>3</sup> the powerful high minister boasted, among many titles, to be patesi of Ḥamasi and Ganḥar. Perhaps the city has to be located across the Tiger toward the north-east.

The king of Adab, Lugalanni-mu-un-du, reigned 90 years. His name has been preserved in an official document,<sup>4</sup> a transfer of land of which we possess a copy of the time of Ammizaduga. His authority was acknowledged in Nippur, and he bore the title of king of the four regions of the world. A full list of the patesis who were dependent from him is given, including the patesis of Al-Halim, Sis, Kiel, Kagalla, Amdama, and some more places. His goddess was probably Nin-maḥ. The city of Adab (Bismaja) had a temple E-maḥ. A patesi of

<sup>1</sup> A. POEBEL, PBS. Vol. IV, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> H. V. HILPRECHT, OBI., Nos. 108, 109.

<sup>3</sup> FR. THUREAU DANGIN, RA. V, p. 99; VI, p. 67, 68. In the 43rd year of Dungi lived a patesi of Ḥamasi named Ur-Adad: LANGDON, Drehem No. 52; GENOUILLAC, Trouville, No. 69.

<sup>4</sup> A. POEBEL, BE. VI, 2, No. 130; p. 123, and pl. 57.

Adab,<sup>1</sup> Lù <sup>d</sup>Utu son of Ur<sup>d</sup> . . . , is known by his seal on a business document of the 8th year of Gimil Sin of Ur.

Mari was a kingdom of the north-west along the Euphrates. An-sis<sup>2</sup> belonged probably to a Semitic race. His reign lasted 30 years. He was succeeded by [ ]-gi his son.

According to SCHEIL's tablet, the 4th (?) dynasty of Kiš, with its 8 kings and a total of 586 years, was founded by a woman Azag-Bau, who being queen reigned 100 years. The total was inconsistent with the detail of years of each king, and had been reduced by SCHEIL to 192 to match it. A new lecture<sup>3</sup> of the figures of years of queen Azag-Bau, 14 instead of 100, has further reduced the total to 106. The new fragment introduces into the question an entirely new element. Azag-Bau is no more considered as a queen reigning a certain number of years, but only as the mother of the first king Baša-Enzu. His son and successor Ur-Zamama reigned 6 years according to SCHEIL's tablet, and at least 20 according to the new fragment. Some more wedges might precede the two visible signs. Unfortunately the fragment just breaks off at that point. And the most interesting total of 7 or 8 kings is lost.

The old Sargon, the founder of Agade, is a great figure of the past. His empire extended probably to the Mediterranean Sea. For the first time we can establish the order of his descendants and the length of their reigns. A small fragment of Cols. 7 and 8 of CBS. 14220, recovered some months after the main portion, just supplies the missing link and the number of years of King Maništešu. It becomes evident that King Naram-Sin, commonly called son of Sargon, was his son in the broad sense of descendant, being in reality his great-grandson.

<sup>1</sup> D. W. MYHRMAN, BE. Vol. III, No. 13: seal. Another patesi of Adab, Ḫabalulē, (AO. 5485, 5494; GENOUILLAC, Trouville, No. 25, 71), lived probably at the same time. The en-en Adab<sup>kl</sup> me of: Amherst tablets No. 10 belong to an earlier period of the kings of Agade. The patesis of Adab paid tribute to the kings of Ur: EAH. 134; EBH., p. 299, l. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Or <sup>d</sup>Muš, or <sup>d</sup>Širu?

<sup>3</sup> PEIZER, OLZ. 1912, col. 108, 154. A. POEBEL, *ibid.*, 289-291.

The dynasty of Agade reads as follows:

Sargon reigned . . . . .	55 years
Rimuš son of Sargon reigned . . . . .	15 years
Maništešu son of Rimuš reigned . . . . .	7 years
Naram-Sin son of Maništešu reigned . . . . .	56 years
Šargani-šarri son of Naram-Sin reigned . . . . .	25 years

Sargon was king of Kiš before he founded Agade. He calls himself a devotee (*ur*) of the god Zamama,<sup>1</sup> the patron god of Kiš, perhaps his personal god. In the same way Lugalzaggisi, born in Umma, calls on his patron goddess Nidaba, even when he is the all-powerful king of Uruk. The title of libator (*qa-šu-dū*) may be an actual expression of the rank and function of Sargon in the temple of Zamama. It has a strange savour of the old legend of the boy brought up by Aggi the libator, the adopted child, growing up in the precincts of the temple and rising to the dignity of founder of a great empire. To the last days of Nineveh and Babylon, people never tired of reciting that wonderful legend.

Soon after Šargani-šarri the fragment CBS. 13994 has a computation of its own, a total of 157 years for the 5 kings, which is correct within one year compared with the detail of the new fragment. It is remarkable that it attributes only 24 years to Šargani-šarri, instead of 25 of the new fragment. The only doubtful point, in the poor condition of our damaged fragment, is the number of years, 5 or 7 of king Maništešu. But the number 7 seems to be required by the total given in CBS. 13994. Moreover we have the means of controlling the correctness of the figures in the new fragment by the total as given in SCHEIL's tablet. We read that 12 kings of Agade reigned 197 years. The last kings of Agade after Šargani-šarri reigned together 39 years, which added to our 158 years amounts exactly to 197 of the total.

Šargani-šarri, according to the famous inscription<sup>2</sup> on the door socket of the temple of Nippur, was the son not of Naram-

<sup>1</sup> Or a libator of the deified king Ur-Zamama, according to Prof. Langdon.

<sup>2</sup> Published by H. V. HILPRECHT, OBI. No. 2.

Sin but of Da-ti-<sup>d</sup>En-lil. How this is to be reconciled with the statement of the new fragment is not clear.

More trouble awaits us with the immediate successors of Šargani-šarri. They read as follows in the three documents:

SCHEIL'S TABLET	CBS. 13994	CBS. 14220
A-ba-am[       ]	Ma-nu-um šarru	Ma-nu-um [šarru]
[       ]	Ma-nu-um la šarru	Ma-nu-um [la šarru]
I-gí-gí [       ]	I-gí-gí       šarru	Ir-di [       ]
I-mi-ilu	I-mi       šarru	Na-nu [um       ]
Na-nu-um šarru	Na-ni-[       ] šarru	I-[       ]
I-lu-lu       šarru	E-lu-lu       šarru	[       ]
4 bi    3 mu in-ag	4 bi    3 mu in-ag	[       ]

Two documents make good that 4 kings reigned together 3 years. They agree more or less about their names and order: Igigi, Imi-ilu, Na-ni-um or Na-nu-um, and Ilulu or Elulu. CBS. 13994 insists that they were kings (*šarru*), CBS. 14220 has more variants: Ir-di [       ] instead of Igígí and Imi-ilu. Was the scribe uncertain about the lecture of the names, or did he feel authorized to translate them? But what are we going to do with the two first lines which read Sumerian in SCHEIL's tablet and good Semitic in the other fragments? Are they a short sentence expressing that in the general confusion nobody knew who was the legitimate king, or are they proper names? Manum was king, but not counted as king, or did not reign at all. In fact between Šargani-šarri and Dudu and Šu-gar-kib the last 2 kings of Agade, we want 5 kings to make good the total of 12. It is too early to give a definite answer to that question which, after all, is only a secondary one.

The last contribution of the new fragments concerns the domination of the Guti. They ruled the land 124 years and 40 days, or 125 years and 40 days according to CBS. 13981. Not in vain are they called the people (*ugnim, ummanu*) of the Guti. They were tribes from the East, precursors of the Cassites and the Medes. They were indeed hordes without a king. Out



of a total of 21 rulers we recover in full the names of the first four, and partly the names of 8 to 11.

1	Imbia ruled	5 years
2	Ingišu ruled	7 years
3	Warlagaba ruled	6 years
4	Iarlagarum ruled	3.. years
...	.....	
8	[ ]-gub	....
9	[ ]-ti	....
10	[ ]-an-gab	....
11	[ ]-bi	.....

Some more Guti kings are known like Sar-a-ti-gu-bi-ši-in, Šarlak, Lasirab, Enrida-pizir, Sium, Arlagan.<sup>1</sup> Their place is not fixed in the list. The last king was Ti-rí-ga-an.

8. CBS. 14223. A small fragment, part of Col. 1. The reverse presents that smooth surface characteristic of a blank before or after a final summing of Col. 12. The fragment is much damaged, its reading is uncertain. The names otherwise unknown may belong to the first dynasty of Kiš. In that case it is remarkable that the length of their reigns is unusually near human estimate.

#### No. 2. CBS. 14223

##### COLUMN I

.....  
 Te [ ]  
 [...] 70 mu [ni-ag]  
 Ba-la-gi-na nu [ ].  
 75 mu ni-ag  
 Na-an giš-li-is(?) -ku?  
 [ ] mu ni-ag.  
 .....

.....  
 Te [ ]  
 reigned [...] 70 years.  
 Balaginanu[.]  
 reigned 75 years.  
 Nangišli išku  
 reigned [ ] years  
 .....

<sup>1</sup> A. T. CLAY, YOS. Vol. I, No. 13: When Arlagan was king of Guti, to Nin-gurra, mother of Umma, Nam-maḥ-ni patesi of Umma, built and restored her old temple.

## No. 1. CBS. 14220

## COLUMN III

.....  
 [30 *mu ni-ag*].  
 [*E-lu*]-*lu*  
 [25]-*mu ni-ag*.  
 [*Ba-lu*]-*lu*  
 [36] *mu ni-ag*.  
 [4] *lugal*  
 [*mu-bi* 120+]51 *ib-ag*.  
 [*Uri<sup>ki</sup>*] *giš tukul ba-sīg*  
 .....

.....  
 reigned 30 years.  
 Elulu  
 reigned 25 years.  
 Balulu  
 reigned 36 years.  
 4 kings  
 reigned 171 years.  
 Ur was defeated by arms  
 .....

## COLUMN IV

.....  
 [... *mu*] *ni-ag*.  
 4(?) *lugal*  
*mu-bi* 3600+192 *ib-ag*  
*Kiš<sup>ki</sup>* *giš tukul ba-sīg*  
*nam-lugal-bi*  
*Ha-ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* *šú ba-túm*  
*Ha[-ma]-ri<sup>ki</sup>* *a*  
 [...] *ni-iš*  
 [*lugal*] *ám*  
 [... *mu*] *ni-ag*  
 .....

.....  
 reigned [ ] years.  
 4(?) kings  
 reigned 3792 years.  
 Kiš was defeated by arms.  
 The kingdom  
 passed to Hamazi  
 In Hamazi  
 [ ] *niš*  
 being king  
 reigned [ ] years  
 .....

## COLUMN V

.....  
*Adab<sup>ki</sup>* *šú ba-túm*  
*Adab<sup>ki</sup>* *a*  
*Lugal-an-ni mu-un-dū*  
*lugal ám*  
 90 *mu ni-ag*  
 1 *lugal*  
*mu-bi* 90 *ib [ag]*  
*Adab<sup>ki</sup>* *giš tukul ba-sīg*  
*nam-lugal-bi*  
*Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* *šú ba-túm*

.....  
 passed to Adab.  
 In Adab.  
 Lugal anni mundu.  
 being king  
 reigned 90 years.  
 1 king  
 reigned 90 years.  
 Adab was defeated by arms.  
 The kingdom  
 passed to Mari.



*Ma-rí<sup>ki</sup> a*  
*An-sir lugal-ám*  
*30 mu ni-ag*  
 [     ]-gi *dumu*[     ]  
 .....

In Mari.  
 Ansir being king  
 reigned 30 years.  
 [     ]-gi son of [     ]  
 .....

## COLUMN VI

.....  
*mu-bi 99 ib-ag.*  
*Upi<sup>ki</sup> giš tukul ba-sīg*  
*Nam-lugal-bi*  
*Kiš<sup>ki</sup> šú ba-túm*  
*Kiš<sup>ki</sup> a*  
*Bá-ša<sup>d</sup> En-žu*  
*dumu Azag<sup>d</sup> Ba-ú ge*  
*lugal-ám*  
*25 mu ni-ag*  
*Ur<sup>d</sup> Za-mà-mà*  
*dumu Bá-ša<sup>d</sup> En-žu ge*  
 [...+] *20 mu ni-ag*  
 .....

.....  
 reigned 99 years.  
 Upi was defeated by arms  
 The kingdom  
 passed to Kiš.  
 In Kiš  
 Baša-Enzu  
 son of Azag-Bau  
 being king  
 reigned 25 years  
 Ur-zamama  
 son of Baša-Enzu  
 reigned 20 [+...] years  
 .....

## COLUMN VII

.....  
*[qa-šu]-dū ur<sup>d</sup> za-mà-mà*  
*lugal A-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*  
*galu A-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*  
*mu-un-da-dū-a*  
*lugal-ám*  
*55 mu ni-ag*  
*Rí-mu-uš dumu Šár-ru-ki-in*  
*15 mu ni-ag*  
*Ma-ni-iš-te-šu*  
*[dumu Rí-] mu-uš*  
*7 [mu ni-ag]*  
*Na-ra-am [<sup>11</sup> Sin]*  
*dumu Ma-ni-[iš-te-šu]*  
*56 mu ni-[ag]*  
*Šár-ga-ni šàr-rí*

.....  
 libator, devotee of Zamama,  
 king of Akkad,  
 who founded  
 Akkad,  
 being king,  
 reigned 55 years.  
 Rimuš son of Sargon  
 reigned 15 years.  
 Maništešu  
 [son of Rí-]muš  
 [reigned] 7 [years]  
 Naram-[Sin]  
 son of Mani[štešu]  
 reigned 56 years  
 Šargani-šarri

*dumu Na-ra-am* <sup>il</sup> *Sin*  
 25 *mu ni-ag*  
*Ma-nu-um* šar[rum]  
*Ma-nu-um* la [šarrum]  
*Ir-di* [            ]  
*Na-nu* [um        ]  
*I-*[                ]  
 .....

son of Naram-Sin  
 reigned 25 years  
 Manum [- šarrum]  
 Manum la [šarrum]  
 Irdi [            ]  
 Na-nu [um        ]  
 I-[                ]  
 .....

## COLUMN VIII

.....  
*ugnim* Gu[-ti-um<sup>bi</sup>]  
*lugal nu-ub-tug*  
*Im-bi-a* 5 *mu ni-ag*  
*In-gi-šù*  
 7 *mu*        *in-ag*  
*Wa-ar-la-ga-ba*  
 6 *mu*        *in ag*  
*Ia-ar-la-ga-rum*  
 3 [+..] *mu*    *ni-ag*  
 [.....]        ]  
 [... *mu*        *ni-ag*]  
 [.....]        ]  
 [..... *mu*        *ni-ag*]  
 [.....]        ]  
 [... *mu*        *ni-ag*]  
 [.....] -gub  
 [... *mu*        *ni-ag*]  
 [.....] -ti  
 [... *mu*] *ni-ag*  
 [.....] -an-gab  
 [... *mu*] *in-ag*  
 [.....] *bi*  
 [... *mu in-ag*]  
 .....

.....  
 The people of Gutium  
 had no king  
 Imbia ruled 5 years.  
 Ingišu  
 ruled 7 years.  
 Warlagaba  
 ruled 6 years  
 Iarlagarum  
 ruled 3 [...] years.  
 .....  
 ruled ... years  
 .....  
 ruled ... years  
 .....  
 ruled .... years  
 ..... gub  
 ruled ... years.  
 ..... ti  
 ruled ... years.  
 ..... an-gab  
 ruled ... years  
 ..... bi  
 ruled .... years  
 .....

## COLUMN IX

.....  
 [2..] *mu ni-ag*  
 21 *lugal*

.....  
 ruled [2..] years  
 21 kings

*mu-bi* 124 *ud* 40  
*ugnim* *Gutium*<sup>ki</sup>  
*giš tukul ba-sīg*  
 [nam-]lugal-bi  
 [      šú ] *ba-túm*

124 years 40 days.  
 The people of Gutium  
 was defeated by arms.  
 The kingdom  
 passed to . . . . .

## COLUMN X

.....  
 [dumu *Gimil-i-lí*]-šú  
 [21 *mu in*]-ag  
 [Iš-me<sup>d</sup> *da*]-gán  
 [dumu *I-din*<sup>d</sup>] *da-gán*  
 .....

.....  
 [son of Gimilili]šú  
 reigned [21 years]  
 [Išme-da]-gan  
 [son of Idin]-dagan  
 .....

Nos. 3, 6, 9

## THE END OF THE 3RD UR DYNASTY: IBI-SIN AND IŠBI-IRRA

The following documents throw a new light on the events which marked the end of the 3rd Ur dynasty. We knew that Ibi-Sin, the last king of Ur, was taken prisoner to Elam, and the royal power passed from Ur to Isin. But we now hear that Išbi-irra, before being king of Isin and founder of the new dynasty, was a rebel supported by Elam in his fight against the legitimate king of Ur. Himself was not a Sumerian. And, worst of all, he seems to have very early extended his control over Nippur, where he was proclaimed true ruler, all of which could not be done, unless he was the effective protector of the famous shrine of Enlil. Ibi-Sin complains bitterly that Enlil has returned evil unto Sumer, given the pastorate of the land to an unclean dealer, and the royalty to a man who was not of Sumerian race. This is a new proof of the Semitic origin of the kings of Isin, as opposed to the Sumerian kings of Ur.

The site of the city of Isin is not yet known. But the official despatch of Ibi-Sin makes clear that the Semite Išbi-irra and Elam his ally, in their drive south past Nippur, will find in arms against them the patesi of Kazallu and the patesi of Girsu.

The probable location of Isin should be looked for in the region north of Nippur toward Babylon. Perhaps Kazallu was a fortress east of Girsu, guarding the passage of the Tiger in the region of Kut-el-Amara. Bašanumušda would be at the head of the Sumerian army covering the kingdom of Ur, and cutting Išbi-irra from Elam. A body of auxiliary troops is sent to him under the command of Nabbia for the protection of Kazallu. The king in person will shortly join the main forces.

Later on we hear that a welcome help has been sent by Enlil to Ibi-Sin from the mounts of Martu, to counteract the efforts of Elam. Troops of Amurru are spreading in the land. Thanks to them he will hit Elam in the face and beat Išbi-irra. It is not certain whether the new ally or Išbi-irra himself is described as: "the man of Maer, the foreign delegate (*sukkallu*), acting as priest of Šamaš." Anyhow these are stormy days and Ibi-Sin prays that they may pass over.

The last document seems to explain to a certain extent the conditions of Išbi-irra's revolt, and why he is called an unclean dealer. As an official of the king of Ur, he was probably sent to the city of Isin on business (*kaskal*). His special errand was to buy large quantities of barley, perhaps rations (*še-ba*) for the troops. Documents from the time of the old Sargon mention exportations of grain from Agade and the region of Babylon to the south. Nippur standard weight was to be used, and the expense amounted to some 20 silver talents. At that moment, North Babylonia was fairly overrun with foreign bands of Amurru or Martu people. With their complicity or acting by order, Išbi-irra forced his way into the city of Isin. Armed with his measure or bushel (*gurru*), he entered all the granaries and probably seized all the stored supplies. It was his first act of rebellion and of government. The invasion of the Martu, that severed regular connections with the capital, gave him a welcomed opportunity.

No. 3. CBS. 14224. Letter of Ibi-Sin to Baša-numušda patesi of Kazallu. Išbi-irra has revolted, and been proclaimed

king in Nippur. Anyhow the king of Ur will make a stand. Troops are despatched to the patesi. The king himself will join the army. The patesi of Girsu Lugal . . . sir has received the same orders. Together with the patesi of Kazallu they shall watch Išbi-irra. Hard times are coming on Sumer. Let the will of the gods be accomplished.

The two half erased signs at the end of the letter are perhaps an indication of a series.

No. 6. CBS. 14230. The tablet is broken. But it certainly was a copy of the previous letter, followed by 17 lines of the text of a new letter, addressed accordingly to the same Baša-numušda patesi of Kazallu. We trace here the official practice of sending important documents in duplicate. Events were developing. A new ally, Arad-gina, perhaps a brother of the king, is mentioned. The text is too broken, to make clear whether he had a special mission near Išbi-irra. A graceful command was repelled. But the hopes of Ibi-Sin do not abate. From the mounts of Martu help is coming. He will beat Elam and Išbi-irra. The land will be restored to peace and order. So runs the letter at a time when the issue of the fight was still uncertain.

No. 9. CBS. 2272. Fragment of letter of Ibi-Sin? Išbi-irra is sent to Isin on business, to buy barley. Grains were preserved in shafts or silos (*dunnu*), measured by *gurru*, paid on Nippur standard silver weight and shipped by special *má-gúr* boats. Great troops of Martu people had gathered in the land. Perhaps barley was stored as rations for them.

### No. 3. CBS. 14224

#### OBVERSE

àš Bá-ša<sup>a</sup> nu-muš-da  
pa-te-si Ka-za-lu<sup>ki</sup>  
ù-na-a-dú(g)  
<sup>a</sup> I-bi<sup>il</sup> Sin lugal-ru  
Na-ab-bi-a

Unto Baša-Numušda  
patesi of Kazallu  
thus speaks  
Ibi-Sin thy king:  
Nabbia



[ <sup>d</sup> En-lil-]li galu-im-šam-šam nu[ ]	Now Enlil unto an unclean clay dealer. ....
Iš-[bi-ir-ra] numum Sumer-ra nu-me-a	unto Išbi-irra, who is not of Sumerian race
nam-lugal mu-na-an-sum.	has given the royalty.
ga-[nam ]-na dingir-ri-e-ne	Well, may the . . . of the gods
Sumer-ge be-ba-ab-dú(g)	of Sumer be proclaimed,
a-a <sup>d</sup> En-lil dú(g)-ga dú(g)-[ga-ni]	may the commands of the father Enlil
be-bi-da-aš	be accomplished.
en-na šes [ ] mu-un-ri-a	Now . . . brother . . . . ., that he has brought,
Iš-bi-ir-ra [ ] sir-ri	Išbi-irra . . . . ., has removed
Sumer [ ]-ka	Sumer. ....
ù-ba-gar [ ] en zé-en	be placed . . . . ., you are,
ka [ ] ni-bal-e-eš-e	order . . . . ., they transgressed,
galu tab-ba(?) dím uru[ ]-gi-na-ta	Like the companion, the city . . . . . from. ....
ù za-e Arad-gi-na [ ] Iš-bi-ir-ra	and thyself Aradgina . . . . . Išbi- irra.
i-ne-šú inim-du(g)-ga gi-gi-dé	Now, to repel a graceful command,
[ ]-dū-dū-ù-zu be-ni-ib-lāh-mu	. . . thou hadst manifested, that it should be brought
[ ] ba be-ag-e-ne	. . . . ., they may have done.

## REVERSE

[ ]-an-na(?)-šub ugu-mu-šú	. . . . . overthrow, against me,
nam-ma-ši-du-un [ . . . (?) ]	may he(?) not proceed.
galu Ma-ri <sup>ki</sup> ge sukkal ur-ri nam-en-na	the man of Maer, the hostile delegate,
<sup>d</sup> Utu ag-e	exercising the function of priest of Šamaš
i-ne-šú Mar-tu kur-bi-ta <sup>d</sup> En-lil	now, from the mounts of Martu En-lil
á-dāp-mu al-gi	has sent as my help,
Nim <sup>ki</sup> zag mu-un-tag-gi ù <sup>u</sup> Iš-bi-ir-ra	I shall strike Elam in front, and beat Išbi-irra
mu-un-sig-ga	
kalama ki-bi gi-gi-dé nam-kalag-ga	In order to restore the land to its place,
kur-kur-ra be-zu-zu	may the strength of the countries increase
a-ma-ru-kam za-e nam-ba-e-tù(r)-e-ne	As for thee, may you not enter
en-zé-en.	the storm.



## No. 9. CBS. 2272

<i>Aš<sup>a</sup> I-bi<sup>i</sup> Sin</i> [	] As for Ibi-Sin . . . .
<i>àš Iš-bi-ir-ra</i> [	] concerning Išbi-irra . . . .
<i>kaskal I-si-in<sup>ki</sup> na</i> [	] the road of Isin . . . .
<i>še šam-šam-ne (?) im</i> . . . [	] in order to buy barley . . . .
<i>ki-lam Nibru<sup>ki</sup> ta-ám še di-di</i>	on the base of Nippur weight, barley was obtained
<i>20 gú kù-babbar . . . . ri-ne ba-gar</i>	. . . . amounted to 20 silver talents.
<i>Ka mar-tu galu kúr-ra ša(g) ma-da</i>	By order of the Martu enemies, now in
<i>uru tù(r)-ra gur-ni tuk-ám</i>	the land, who had entered the city, seizing his measure,
<i>dun-nu dū-a-bi ša(g) I-si-in<sup>ki</sup> na</i>	all the shafts in Isin
<i>ba-an-tu-ur</i>	were visited.
<i>a-da-al-la-bi Mar-tu . . in</i> . . . [	] And at present, the Martu . . . .
<i>ša(g) kalam-ma-šú ba-an</i> . . [	] into the land are . . . .
<i>ukkin-gal-gal aš-aš-bi im-š[i</i>	] Great multitude together . . .
<i>mu mar-tu še-ba sīg-gi nu-mu</i> [	] The year when the Martu did not . . . .
	the stored rations of barley
<i>ugu-mu mu-ta-ni-ib</i> [	] against me, . . . out of . . .
<i>Lugal-zi 70 gur má-gúr a(?)</i> . . [	] Lugal-zi 70 measures by boats . . . .
[	] . . . . .
<i>má-gúr</i> [	] boats . . . . .

## No. 4. CBS. 14225

This half tablet is one of the few documents of the Isin dynasty. It is dated in the month of Simanu (June) of King Iterpiša, the eighth ruler since Išbi-irra, probably on the first year of his reign. It is an account of flour in various quantities distributed to officials or servants as rations or monthly salaries. All sorts of grains, chiefly barley (*še*), were ground in the mills (*é-ará*), and the flour portioned out as food for various classes of workmen (*šà-gal erín*). There were many qualities of flour. The best (*zid kal*) lost half of the weight of the original grain,<sup>1</sup> or two measures of grain gave only one measure of *zid-kal*. Less refined qualities of flour were called *zid-gu*, *zid-gu-šig*, *zid-gu-uš*. The name of the common flour not sifted at all, is *zid-še*.

<sup>1</sup> G. REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 102: VATh. 2268.



All proper names seem to be of Semitic derivation.

## OBVERSE

180 q. <i>zid-še Maš-gur-ilu-iddin</i> , <sup>1</sup> <i>Itti</i>	180 qa of še flour to Masgur-iluiddin
<sup>11</sup> <i>Nannar-žu</i>	and(?) Itti-Nannarzu,
60 q. <i>zid-gu Šar-apal</i>	60 qa of gu flour to Šar-apal,
55 qa <sup>11</sup> <i>Nannar-ašarid</i>	55 qa to Nannar-ašarid,
30 q. <i>zid-gu E-ri-ib</i> <sup>11</sup> <i>Sin</i>	30 qa of gu flour to Erib-Sin,
10 q. <i>zid-gu</i> <sup>11</sup> <i>Nannar-iddin</i>	10 qa of gu flour to Nannar-iddin
10 q. <i>zid-gu Gimil</i> <sup>11</sup> <i>Ištar(?) -te-ra-ag</i>	10 qa of gu flour to Gimil-Ištar-terag
10 q. <i>zid-gu</i> 10 q. <i>zid še Ištar-um-mi</i>	10 qa of gu flour, 10 qa of še flour to Ištar-ummi,
[ <i>zid-gu A-ki-te-ilu-itti-žu</i>	....qa of gu flour to Akite-iluittizu,
<i>]-bi</i> <sup>11</sup> <i>En-lil-lá</i>	.... to ... bi-Enlilla,
.....	.....

## REVERSE

<sup>11</sup> <i>Ištar-te-ra-ag</i>	..... to Gimil-Ištar-terag,
10 q. <i>zid-gu</i> 10 q. <i>zid</i> <sup>11</sup> <i>Nannar ašarid</i>	10 qa of gu flour, 10 qa of flour to Nannar ašarid,
15 qa <i>zid-gu A-bi-ia-tum</i>	15 qa of gu flour to Abijatun,
20 q. <i>zid-gu Šar-apal</i>	20 qa of gu flour to Šar-apal,
20 q. <i>zid-gu Šar-apal</i>	20 qa of gu flour to Šar-apal,
20 q. <i>zid-gu Pu-maš-lu</i>	20 qa of gu flour to Pu-mašlu
<i>itu si-g-a-ka</i> 27 <i>kam</i>	month of Simanu, the 27th,
<i>mu I-te-ir-pi-ša lugal</i>	year when Iterpiša was king.

No. 5. CBS. 12570

## Frontispiece

A SEAL GIVEN BY IBI-SIN TO THE HIGH-PRIEST OF ENLIL.<sup>2</sup>

The lump of clay in which this seal has been stamped, seems to have preserved for us a real portrait of King Ibi-Sin.

Other portraits have been recovered during the last twenty years: the portrait of Hammurabi of the code-stela found at

<sup>1</sup> A proper name or a measure:  $\frac{1}{2}$  gur ... ?

<sup>2</sup> *Museum Journal*, December, 1920 (Vol. XI, No. 4).

Susa, the statue of Gudea patesi of Lagaš, the relief of Naram-Sin on his stela of victory. The newly found portrait of Ibi-Sin in the Nippur collections is unique in several respects. The lump of clay on which it appears was evidently used to seal a package or receptacle of some kind. The clay is black in color; on the underside are seen the imbedded marks made by the knotted strings by which the sealed packet was bound; on the upper surface, on each side, is the impression, very sharp and distinct, of the seal cylinder. Between these two seal impressions are two lines of cuneiform writing. On the seal itself is an inscription from which we learn that the seal used was that of the high-priest of Enlil named Sag-Nannar-zu. We learn further that this seal was a present to the high-priest from Ibi-Sin king of Ur.

The inscription on the seal reads as follows:

*<sup>a</sup>I-bi <sup>u</sup>Sin*  
*lugal kal-ga*  
*lugal ur<sup>ki</sup> ma*  
*lugal an-ub-da tab-tab-ba ge*

*Sag <sup>a</sup>Nannar-zu*  
*sangu <sup>a</sup>En-lil-lá*  
*arad-da-ni-ir*  
*in-na-ba.*

Ibi-Sin  
 the mighty king  
 the king of Ur,  
 the king of the four regions of the  
                   world  
 to Sag-Nannar-zu  
 priest of Enlil,  
 his servant  
 has given in present.

The cuneiform inscription on the clay reads:

Ur <sup>a</sup>Šul-pa-è damgar son of Erin-da-an.

This last inscription may have been the address of the parcel or perhaps it was the *damgaru*, the banker himself who sealed the package to prevent its unauthorized opening. We possess some other records of this same banker. As we shall see, his quality of agent or bankér is of special interest.

The fact that the seal used in closing the package was a gift from the king is an unusual and important feature, which together with the scene engraved makes of it a unique document in which we may look confidently for a portrait of Ibi-Sin,

the deified king of Ur, the last of his dynasty. On the seal cylinders of the Ur school, the special feature is a seated personage wearing a turban. The identity and quality of this personage has remained a matter of doubt. Whether it was Sin the moon god or the deified king was not clear. In the new example the question appears to solve itself.

A seal cylinder cut by order of the king as a gift for his servant (*arad-da-ni-ir, in-na-ba*), is a favor unheard of before the days of Ibi-Sin. All other royal cylinders bear witness to the loyalty of the high officers, servants of the king, with the simple words: *arad-šu* "thy servant." Whether this special record of the royal gift means a strengthening of the king's authority is doubtful. Ibi-Sin's name portended evil. Under his reign the scepter passed from Ur to Isin. Was this a last attempt to remind independent patesis of their submission to the central power? Thanks to another seal impression from Tello, preserved in the collections at Constantinople,<sup>1</sup> we know that the high intendant in Lagaš, Arad-Nannar, received from Ibi-Sin a seal with the same inscription: *arad-da-ni-ir, in-na-ba*. This Arad-Nannar had been long an important personage at the court of Ur. Under the precedent king, Gimil-Sin, he already occupied the same high position in Lagaš. The name of his father was Ur-Šulpaè, a name identical with that of our actual *damgaru*. Could it be the same man? The name indeed is the same but the title is different, for in this instance he is not described as a *damgaru*, banker, but as a high officer or delegate, *sukkal-mah* like his son Arad-Nannar. Whether he could be acting at times in this capacity and at other times as a banker (*damgaru*) remains to be proved. In any case we find that in the sixth year of Gimil-Sin, Ur-Šulpaè the *damgaru* was acting trustee for the farmers attached to the temple of the deified king of Ur.<sup>2</sup> Temples of the kings of Ur, Dungi, Bur-Sin, and Gimil-Sin, were discovered both at Lagaš and at Nippur.

<sup>1</sup> MIO. Tello, No. 937.

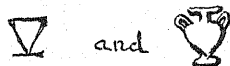
<sup>2</sup> *Engar é<sup>a</sup> Gimil<sup>a</sup> Sin šú*, G. REISNER, *Tempelurkund. aus Telloh*, No. 62.

The close relationship between the central power of the king and his representatives in neighboring towns was exemplified by the use of seals with the name and full title of the king, together with the name and rank of his local official. A close examination of the present seal impression will show that the scene represented conveys the same idea as the inscription recording the gift. King Ibi-Sin is undoubtedly figured as making a gift to the priest of Enlil or receiving an offering from his hands. Among the productions of the Ur school of engravers this seal is one of the simplest of its kind. It represents the introduction of a person to a seated king or deity, or more generally a scene of adoration. Some of the details, however, set it apart from all other known examples, among which is the absence of the usual beard from the seated figure of the king. The seal is a masterpiece of engraving. Only the best lapidary in the royal city could cut a seal of such refinement and perfection. The whole design including the minute inscription has been cut in hard material like onyx, agate or lapis lazuli, used for making seals in ancient Babylonia. The illustration in the frontispiece showing one side of the lump of clay, is two and a quarter times larger than the original, so that the seal is magnified to that extent.

The engraving shows a scene in the classical style of Ur. It is limited to two personages; the servant or official standing in front of the seated master and looking him straight in the eyes. The king or god, for such he is in fact, holds up gracefully a small two handled cup or vase. There is a smile lurking on both faces. The meaning is clear, for up to the present day in the East, to look at somebody is a favor, to avert the face is a mark of disgrace. In the picture the servant stands with clasped hands before his seated master. The little vase filled with precious ointment may be symbolic of the offering received or of the favor granted by the god.

We can go one step farther and identify the little vase with a sign of the old writing, the pronunciation of which is uncertain,

but which has a clear meaning, and is a picture of such a vase. It is the sign for "prayer,"<sup>1</sup> REC. 316, which in its natural position looks exactly like the small "alabastron" which the seated god is holding in his fingers.



Such an identification would explain satisfactorily a very common scene on the seal engraving, and throw a new light on the old Sumerian mind and manner. A truly oriental vision of the book of Revelation<sup>2</sup> pictures the twenty-four elders having "golden vials full of odors which are the prayers of the saints," which they use together with harps in their worshipping. This is not without parallel in the Sumerian texts. In Gudea cylinder B, we find near the god Ningirsu, among many high officials, his counselor (*ad-gí-gí*): Lugal-sisá, his high advocate, who takes in hand (*šú-dū*), as one would take stylus and tablet, the "prayers" (*nam* —, REC. 316) of Lagaš, and intercedes<sup>3</sup> for the life of Gudea. Next, the seven priestesses (*sal-me*), daughters of Bau, attached to the same shrine of Ningirsu, are charged with a special service of vocal prayers (*gù-de*) and graceful intercession (*nam* —, REC. 316, *šá(g)-ga*). Priests of intercessions are elected by sort, attached to various sanctuaries, and the process was important enough to fix the name of the year.

Year<sup>4</sup> in which was appointed the priest of the intercessions (*en nam* —, REC. 316) of <sup>a</sup>Dungi.

On many other seal impressions, where similar scenes are represented, there is an intermediary protecting deity who leads

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SAK. p. 154, note g, where the meaning of "prayer" is established. *Nam* —, is often synonym of *a-ra-ru*.

<sup>2</sup> V, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ka-šu-gál*: to adore, to worship.

<sup>4</sup> SAK. p. 235, h.

the worshiper by the hand, each of them lifting his free hand to his mouth in sign of adoration. Sometimes vacant spaces are filled with other figures: a nude attendant or two, and stars, crescent moon, or various symbols. In contrast to these more elaborate scenes, the present engraving attains nearly a Greek simplicity.

Such scenes of adoration existed before the time of the kings of Ur and survived them. The simple fringed garment of the servant, the high flounced mantle of the god belong to a long Sumerian tradition. The last rich frilled mantle, woven to imitate the locks of a sheep's fleece and identified with the Greek mantle *καυνάκης* by L. HEUSEY, was reserved to gods, and also to deified kings.

But the low seat covered with three rows of the same fringed woolen cloth is a characteristic feature of all cylinders cut in Ur and of those that followed the Ur school. In connection with the turban, the new headdress of the gods, it forms a landmark<sup>1</sup> in the field of Babylonian art and history. From the earliest down to the last Chaldaean empire, a high conical headdress, adorned with several pairs of horns, was the proper dress and crown of the gods. Very archaic seal impressions represent gods and goddesses bareheaded or with long, hanging hair. The turban is a human headdress from Gudea down to Hammurabi. Could it be at the same time the headdress of the gods? How could history account for such a change in religious tradition? We know that King Hammurabi belonged to the new race from the West, the Amurru, and that, long before him, many strangers from the same western region, the Martu, were established in Babylonia. At the time of the first dynasty of Babylon new figures of gods appear on the seal cylinders by the side of the old ones. They are standing up, armed with mace, dressed in a short garment reaching to the knees and wearing the turban. We have to look upon them as so many figures of the god Martu,

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<sup>1</sup> L. LEGRAIN, *Cat. des cyl. ori. de la collection Louis Cugnin*, p. 16-17, p. 26-27.



so long as they were not identified with Adad, Ramman, Ninib<sup>1</sup> or Nergal.

The city of Ur lies on the western limits of the Babylonian plain. But did the kings of Ur belong to the Sumerian or Martu-Amurru race? They were most probably Sumerian. Išbi-irra who rebelled against the king of Ur, and founded the kingdom of Isin, is reproached by Ibi-Sin for not being of Sumerian race. But from Ur-Engur, who founded the dynasty, down to Ibi-Sin, who ruined it, what was the position of the rulers as deified kings, beside the old moon god Sin worshiped in Ur? Can we imagine the old moon god wearing the turban, the Sumerian human headdress? Gudea wore a turban, and Ningirsu his god had a high horned mitra. Was the turban style forced upon the moon god at the time when the kings of Ur were worshiped as gods and probably identified with him?

It is too early to give a positive answer to all these questions. Whatever was the racial origin of the turban, once a human headdress, it became also a divine headdress. The custom prevailed at the time of the kings of Ur and in their own capital. The seated gods wearing turbans may represent the deified kings and also Sin the patron god. Soon after the dynasty of Ur they certainly represent Sin as well as some more western gods imported at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon.

Strong literary tradition speaks of the horns of Sin, which may be simply the symbol of the crescent moon and of his long, dark, lapis-lazuli beard. All seal cylinders and impressions of seals of the school of Ur represent the seated god wearing the turban and with a long beard hanging on his breast. Our clay relief is nearly the only known example where the seated god is beardless. It cannot be a goddess. We have no examples of female figures wearing the turban. The complete statue of Gudea is the standard evidence of an entirely shaven man wearing the turban. The worshiper of our relief has the same shaven head, the same gesture of clasped hands, the same fringed

<sup>1</sup> Nin-urta. *Yale Syllab.*, No. 288 (YOS. I).

mantle as Gudea in front of his god. It will be an easy step to identify him with the priest of Enlil in Nippur. Last of all, the beardless king-god, so near to humanity, is not entirely shaven as would befit liturgical cleanliness. Just a lock of hair is playing on the forehead and on the neck. The large, set eyes, the high cheek bones, the curved nose, the thin lips, the firm and round chin complete an interesting attempt to portray King Ibi-Sin, the last king of Ur, with a necklace and arm-band as becomes his majesty.

No. 7. CBS. 14231

No. 16. CBS. 14229

Lists of temples, names of several gods of Ur, Nippur, and perhaps Babylon. The two fragments are duplicates of an original two column tablet. Among the total preserved are: 12 temples of Nindar; 15 temples of Ninib at Nippur; 9 temples of Šuzianna; and 14 "additions" (supplementary names?) to the temple mountain of Dungi at Ur. The list when complete would be a welcome historical and theological document expounding the various aspects of one god. Šuzi-anna: "the brilliant one" or the "living one" of heaven, is certainly the companion (*dam-banda*) of Enlil,<sup>1</sup> the mother of the moon god Sin; the goddess Nin-lil. Among the names of her temples is mentioned twice the Dusagas, the famous brick tower or ziggurat<sup>2</sup> of Nippur. Nin-dar is a priest god (*lugal-en*); he was perhaps the husband of Nina, a priestess goddess, whose activity in the interpretation of dreams and oracles is well known.<sup>3</sup> He had a temple in Girsu. Another priest god, Nin-dub, had equally a temple in Girsu, was called high priest of oracles of Eridu, had charge of the censers,<sup>4</sup> and was holding the tablet of destiny

<sup>1</sup> *Dam banda* <sup>d</sup>Enlil-li ge, *um-me-da* <sup>d</sup>Sin-na-ge, III R. 67, 25 a; 68, 12-13 c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *É-sagaš* : *ziggurat Nipuri*, II R. 50, 6 a.

<sup>3</sup> Cyl. A of Gudea.

<sup>4</sup> Gud. Cyl. B. IV 4: *išib-mah Erida* <sup>kt</sup> *ka ge, na-iqi ba-ni-si(g)*.

in Gudea's dream. The names of Nindar's temples are not preserved in the fragments.

A name of Marduk of Babylon: Silig-mulu-šar, "ruler of all mankind," in the last lines of Rev. II would suggest that the list included several Akkadian gods.

More fragments of the list are known, and will supply in the future a correct reading of some difficult names:

## OBVERSE I

.....	.....
12 é <sup>a</sup> [Nin-dar-]a	12 temples of Nindar.
.....	.....

## OBVERSE II

[ ] sag-ug <sup>1</sup> hu [	] ..... lion head ....
sag-é-ib kur-gal e [	] chief temple ... great mountain ...
en <sup>a</sup> Nin-urta <sup>2</sup> gâ-gâ [	] the lord Ninib ...
šuba <sup>3</sup> é ne-in-gub bâr za-gîn <sup>4</sup> [ne-in-gar]	splendor arising in the temple, shrine established as a jewel.
15 é <sup>a</sup> Nin-urta Nibru [ <sup>ki</sup> ]	15 temples of Ninib in Nippur.
é-gâ-dûl-da dub-sag <sup>a</sup> ... [	] temple depot and store, front of ...
... id <sup>a</sup> edin ki-azag(?) ki-lam(?)	... of Edin, pure place ...
[- ] temen-žu dū-gal-nun(?) -na	... thy foundation, great princely construction,
[ ] .... gâ šû-gî .....	..... old depot ....
.....	.....

## REVERSE I

dû-sag-aš [	] the dusagaš ....
tûr ša(g) .. [	] the yard inside ....
dumu-nun kur-gal-la gû-me-ir-me-ri <sup>5</sup>	noble son of the great mount gorgeous
<sup>a</sup> šû-zi-an-na dam ban-da [	] Šuzianna, the companion of [Enlil],
dû-sag-aš šuba-é ne-in-gub bâr za-gîn	Dusagaš, splendor arising in the temple, the shrine established as a jewel.
[ne-in-gar]	

<sup>1</sup> Gud. Cyl. B. XIII, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Yale Syll., No. 288 (YOS. I).

<sup>3</sup> Zîmu, nâ-šuba : abam nisigti.

<sup>4</sup> hulalu, Br. 11804.

<sup>5</sup> ħunnubu, V R. 19, 8 a.

10 <i>lal</i> 1 é <sup>a</sup> Šu-zi-an-na-ge	9 temples of Šuzianna.
<i>Keš<sup>ki</sup> en si-g-alam</i> <sup>1</sup> [	2] <i>Keš</i> lord of figures <sup>1</sup> . . . .
<i>muš ša(g)-túr<sup>3</sup> gal-dim im-ri</i> <sup>4</sup> [	] <i>Serpent</i> great builder of embryos, moist clay . . . .
é <sup>a</sup> <i>Nin-ḥar-sag-ka ki-súr-ra</i> [	] temple of Nin-ḥarsag, inclosure . . . .
<i>Keš<sup>ki</sup> Aratta<sup>ki</sup> ša(g)-zu ša(g)-sig</i>	<i>Keš</i> , <i>Aratta</i> , increasing, decreasing, raising <sup>5</sup>
<i>túr<sup>5</sup> šab-il</i> [	] the yard like a vase . . .
<i>ug-gal</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Edin-na ḥe-gal da-dū</i> <sup>6</sup> [	] great lion of Edin, overgrown abun- dance . . .
<i>ḥar-sag-gal ka+x<sup>7</sup>+ka+x-ta</i> [	] great mount, from the . . . . .
<i>ša(g) <sup>a</sup>mes(?) šu(?) -an-</i> [	] inside Marduk (?) . . . . .
.....	.....

## REVERSE II

é-sag-ni-ri(?) -zu á-dam-ma <sup>8</sup> mulu? šar	thy chief . . . temple, troops of animals .....
<i>gà-nun temen</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Dun-gi mi-ni-ib-gal</i>	great store foundation of Dungi, great
<i>gà-nun-na</i>	. . . of the great store,
[ ]-šu-ul maḥ-di <sup>9</sup> im-gâl šub kalam	. . . . perfect, exalted (hero), south
<i>gal-la</i>	wind, ruining the great land,
<i>gi-ni dú(g)-an-zu nam-tar-ri-ne</i>	steady is thy divine command fixing destinies.
é-ḥar-sag <sup>a</sup> <i>Dun-gi-an-na-ge</i>	temple mount of the divine Dungi
<i>šuba-é ne-in-gub bár za-gin ne-in-gar</i>	splendor arising in the temple, shrine established as a jewel.
14 <i>daḥ-ḥu é-ḥar-sag</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Dun-gi ur<sup>ki</sup>ma</i>	14 additions to the temple mount of Dungi in Ur.
<i>uru-ki</i> . . . <i>ab-ta še-dim má-ra</i>	city . . . out of which, like grain poured in boat
. . . . <i>dugud ša(g)-ta me šu-ti</i>	heavy . . . . out of which commands are received

<sup>1</sup> *Bunnānu, nabnitu*, Br. 7020, 7021: production of statues or of living beings.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps: *si-sá : mušteširat nabnitu*.<sup>3</sup> *Šassuru, šaturru*, Br. 8010, 8011: foetus.<sup>4</sup> *Im-ri-a : rušumtu*.<sup>5</sup> *Našū* : filling.<sup>6</sup> *Ḥarāšū*, V R. 18 c-d 9-18: *ša alpi, ša imēri, ša šaḥū, ša amēli, ša gant*.<sup>7</sup> *Ka+še (tukur)* or *ka+sar* or *ka+tu?*<sup>8</sup> *Namaššu bulu*, V R. 30, 24 g.<sup>9</sup> *Tiqqaru*, Br. 1056, or *torrent : naḥallu*, Br. 1057.

• • • • •

Keš and Aratta are mentioned in connection with the cult of Nin-harsag as being true symbols of purity. In the temple of Ningirsu, the veil hanging (? *sa-lal*)<sup>11</sup> was pure like Keš and

<sup>11</sup> Gud. Cyl. A, XXVII, 2.

Aratta. Gudea had a statue of himself carved and placed in the temple of Nin-ḥarsag. His offerings mentioned in the inscription<sup>1</sup> consisted in a pure basin (*dub-pisán-aṣag-ga*) and a throne (*giš dūr-gar maḥ nam-nin-ka-ni*) of majesty. In later stone reliefs, specially on the kudurrus or boundary stones of the Cassite period, her emblem is a lock of hair or wig.<sup>2</sup> But this identification is not quite certain. In several instances that W-shaped symbol is upside down,<sup>3</sup> and in one case is resting on a knife.<sup>4</sup>

Nin-ḥarsag is mother of gods<sup>5</sup> and men. One name of her temple is: lion of the goddess Edin. This is another name of the goddess Eru'a, Er-ia; or Šeru'a, the companion of Marduk, goddess of fecundity (*bēlit nabnāti, muballidat*),<sup>6</sup> under the name of Zarpanitum.

#### No. 8. CBS. 14232

Fragment of legend or history, which seems to refer to the priest (*en*) of Aratta. His words or orders are reported. Aratta is mentioned in Gudea texts along with Keš. The writing of the name comes very close to that of Suruppak the legendary city of Gilgameš and of the flood. Is kin-gi-a the name of the priest of Aratta or a common name for order (*takaltu, taklimtum, urtum*)? The text numbered 57 lines, was written on a two-columns tablet, and must have been copied several times:

#### OBVERSE II

<i>ḥar-sag gal-gal im-ma-dib-a</i>	the great mountain, which he reaches,
<i>saḥar-ra ḥu-mu-na-da-nigin-e</i>	may be all surrounded with dust.
<i>kin-gi-a en Aratta<sup>ki</sup> ge</i>	Kin-gia, the priest of Aratta,
<i>ù-na-a-dù(g) ù-ne-ne-daḥ</i>	commanded (and) added,

<sup>1</sup> Gud. St. A, II, 1-5.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. HINKE, *Boundary Stone*, fig. 87, 121<sup>b</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup>, 14<sup>5</sup>, 48. A symbol of virginity according to DR. J. B. NIES.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 30<sup>4</sup>, 47<sup>10</sup>, 49<sup>9</sup>, 44<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 11<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Ur-bau, St. III, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Chron. P. I, 5; LEHMANN, *Šamaš-š-ukin*, II, p. 36-37; W. J. HINKE, *Boundary Stone*, p. 222. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Lettres et Contrats*, p. 60.



*uru-ni kaskal-mušen<sup>1</sup>-dún é-bi-ta*  
*na-an-na-ra-ab-ri(?) -en*  
*mušen-dim ú-ki-si(g)-ga<sup>2</sup> uš-sa-ta...[*  
*malba<sup>3</sup>-gál-la-dim nam-[*  
*uru gul-gul-la-dim [*  
*Aratta<sup>ki</sup> .. [*

his city, like the wandering bird, out  
 of its nest, may he not attain  
 like the bird out of its nest ...  
 as one become adversary ...  
 as a ruined city ...  
 Aratta ...

## No. 10. CBS. 1526

Neo-Babylonian building inscription. Fragment of an octagonal prism.

## No. 11. CBS. 14235

Letter or historical record at the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon. The fragment belongs to a large three column tablet. Only part of Obv. II is preserved.

## OBSERVE II

*un-ne [..*  
*i-li-ik gi a-pi .. [*  
*a-šar si-bu-(?)tim ub-ba-lum ..*  
*mer(?) -si-a<sup>4</sup> i-ša-bat i-na pa-ni šar-*  
*ri-im*  
*ú-sik-ma a-na me-sġ-im<sup>5</sup> ú-la-ba-ak<sup>6</sup>*  
*ša...mi-ma*  
*ù a-wi-lum a-di la i-na-bu*  
*u-šur i-ra-aš-ši mi-im-ma*  
*ma-an-nu-um mi-nam a-na-ti ša-nim*  
*i-na-an-di-iš-šu*  
*ša ša-di-i i-te-ni-ti-ku(?) im(?) -ma-*  
*ni-iš*  
*ša la i-šu-ú šar-ra-am ù šar-ra-tam*  
*be-ru-šu ma-an-nu-um*  
*šu-u-ma šu-u-ma mu-su(?) -ra....*

...  
 he went ....  
 in the place of desire, a fence ...?  
 ..... he holds in front of the king  
 he pressed and forced into a ring  
 .....  
 and so long the man does not cease,  
 be watchful, he has everything,  
 nobody should give him any of those  
 things again.  
 Now the mountains which happen to  
 be desert(?)  
 which have no king or queen whatever  
 among them,  
 this and the next portion(?)...

<sup>1</sup> LEGRAIN, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 21, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ginnu, Br. 6077.

<sup>3</sup> Mâbiru, Br. 9803.

<sup>4</sup> Or dü-si-a?

<sup>5</sup> Mesukku, meçugga?

<sup>6</sup> Labâku, read: dur=rakâsu?

## No. 12. CBS. 7095

Clay tag attached probably to a basket of official records or legal documents brought from Šuruppak (Fâra) some 33 miles south from Nippur. The writing belongs to an early Sargon period. Šuruppak the native city of Gilgamesh is seldom mentioned in later texts. The expression: "*im-sar*" written tablet, is found only in a few legal deeds<sup>1</sup> of the same time and character. *Gà-dub-ba*, keeper of the tablet basket, is the proper name of the archivist, who was commonly a scribe.

<i>gà-dub</i>	tablet basket
<i>im-sar</i>	of clay records
<i>dar-bu-bu</i>	which Darbubu
<i>lù ur-ša(g)-ga ge</i>	the man of Uršagga
<i>šuruppak<sup>ki</sup> ta</i>	has brought
<i>mu-gub (?)</i>	from Šuruppak.

The name of the messenger Darbubu, may be read Dar-sir-sir, just as the temple of the goddess Bau: É sil-sir-sir,<sup>2</sup> might be read Dar-sir-sir. This ought to help toward a better understanding of the name. The only patesi of Šuruppak so far known is Urninkurra.

## No. 13. CBS. 6141

Business document of the time of the Ur dynasty, in the 1st year of King Gimil-Sin. A great interest is attached to the seal impression. It is another rare figure of a seated god without a beard. By what we know of Ibi-Sin (No. 5, CBS. 12570), this must be intended as a portrait of the deified king of Ur. Gimil-Sin was the father of Ibi-Sin, and reigned only seven years. The name of the owner of the seal seems to confirm the

<sup>1</sup> *Im-sar-a-bi, ki En<sup>d</sup>Ninā-ka-ta im-ma-gub (Di-til-la)*, MIO. Tello, No. 4191; *Gà im-sar gdl-la*, RTC. No. 304, f. III, 11. *Im-sar-ra-e*, AO. 5477, r. 5 (RA. VIII, p. 139, 140, n. 4.) CT. XVII, 18, l. 21.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of Gudea Called the place of oracles, Gud. Cyl. A, XXVI, 9.

theory. It reads as a prayer or invocation to the deified king, a new moon god, the light of his land:

*<sup>11</sup> Gimil <sup>11</sup> Sin nu-ùr ma-ti-iš-çu  
arad Gu-za-na.*

He is led by his own personal goddess in front of the enthroned king god, who receives his prayers. The small cup or ampulla seems to materialize the offering. The standing goddess leading the worshiper wears a long plaited robe and the proper headgear of Sumerian gods, a high mitre adorned with several pairs of horns. It is remarkable that seated god and worshiper have the same simple fringed garment or shawl. The only difference between them is the turban of the seated king god and the shaven and nude head of his standing servant.

The note reads as follows:

*1 1/3 ma-na kù-babbar  
sìg-bi 20 gun  
ki Ur <sup>a</sup>da-mu ta  
<sup>11</sup> Gimil <sup>11</sup> Sin nu-ùr ma-ti-iš  
šù-ba-ti  
igi Lù-šà(g)-ga lù-šù[-i]  
igi Lugal <sup>a</sup>Nin-gir-su.  
itu maš-dū kú  
mu <sup>11</sup>I-bi <sup>11</sup> Sin lugal*

*1 1/3 maneh of silver  
its wool (worth) is 20 talents  
from Ur-damu,  
Gimil-Sin nur matišu  
has received.  
witness: Lu šagga the barber,  
witness: Lugal-ningirsu.  
month of Maš-du ku,  
year when Ibi-Sin was king.*

1 1/3 silver maneh is equal to 80 shekels, which gives us a price of 4 shekels the talent of wool. A talent weighs: 24 k. 240 gr., and a shekel: 6 gr. 733 mgr. The proportion of silver to wool was almost exactly 1/900 at the time of Gimil-Sin.

No. 14. CBS. 14225

This broken unbaked clay tablet is a rough copy of the inscription of Šargani-šarri on the diorite door socket from Nippur preserved in the Museum.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the top is

<sup>1</sup> OBI., No. 2. CBS. 8751.

missing, where we could expect to find Da-ti Enlil mentioned as the father of Šargani-šarri. The new list of kings makes of him a son of Naram-Sin.

.....  
*šar akkadim<sup>ki</sup>*

*ù*

*bà-ù-la-ti*

[*ilu*] *en-lil*

[*ba*]-*dim*

[*é*]-*kur*

[*é*]<sup>*ilu*</sup> *en-lil*

*in Nippurim<sup>ki</sup>*

[*ša*] *duppam*

[*sù*]-*a*

[*u*]-*sa-za-ku-ni*

<sup>*ilu*</sup> *En-lil*

*ù*

<sup>*ilu*</sup> *Šamaš*

[*išdê*]-*su*

.....

.....

*li-il-gu-da.*

king of Akkad

and of

the kingdom

of Enlil;

builder of

ekur,

the temple of Enlil

at Nippur

Whoever shall

change this

tablet,

may Enlil

and

Šamaš

[destroy]

his foundation

and ruin

[his posterity].

The end of the tablet shows clearly that the length of the broken portion must not exceed 2 or 3 lines. The actual mention of Dati Enlil would require more room and seems doubtful.

#### No. 15. CBS. 14227

Historical fragment. King Sargon (*Šar-ru-gi*), founder of the dynasty and city of Agade, is quoted as having received the kingdom from Enlil. A short note concerning the temple of Nippur confirms the result of the excavations, viz., that it was adjoining the quay, or more properly the great boats of the quay.

#### OBVERSE I

*Sag-ki-gid-da<sup>1</sup> En-lil-lá ge*

The splendor of Enlil,

<sup>1</sup> *na'ru, nikilmû*, Br. 3650, 3651: Aspect showing at a long distance.

*Kiš<sup>ki</sup> gu(d)-an-na-dim i im-ú(g)-ga-ta* is like Kiš the heavenly bull towering  
above the dust of the dead;  
*é ki unú<sup>ki</sup> gu(d)-maḥ-dim saḥar-ra* the temple is like Uruk the great bull  
*mi-ni-ib-gaṣ-ne(?)* treading down the earth,  
[ ] *-bi Šār-ru-gi lugal a-ga-de<sup>ki</sup> ra* ..... unto Sargon, king of Akkad  
[ ] *-elam šú<sup>2</sup> En-lil-li* ..... towards Elam, Enlil,  
[ ] *nam-lugal mu-na-an-sum-ma-ta* ..... the kingdom, since he has given  
unto him,  
[ ] *a]-ga-de<sup>ki</sup> e(?) dingir-ri* ..... Akkad, ... of the gods ...  
.....

## REVERSE II

[ ] *kar-ra..* [ ] .....  
[ ] *-bi e dim* [ ] .....  
[ ] *-bi-ṣa dim e* [ ] .....  
*dub-vi de tuk* [ ] .....  
*nig-ga uru bul-a [dim* like the goods of a ruined city .....  
*é-e má-gal-gal kar-ri* [ ] the temple to the great boats of the  
quay .....  
*é<sup>2</sup> En-lil-lá ge má-gal-gal kar-ri* the temple of Enlil, to the great boats  
*ba-an-uš* of the quay is adjoining.

The tablet had two columns on the obv. and two on the rev.

No. 17. CBS. 14228

Fragment of a religious historical hymn(?). Sippar, Sumer and Akkad are mentioned on the obverse.

## REVERSE

*uru im-gul-la-aš bád* [ ] in the city, the devastating wind, the  
wall .....  
*uru-ki ni-si* [ ] the city .....  
*numun ṣi(d) sag-lul-la dú(g)* [ ] pure seed, head of destruction .....  
*šu-bal mi-ni-ib-ag(?)* [ ] achieving a complete inimity ...  
*lú šu-bi-tak-ki<sup>1</sup> ni-ag* [ ] who a perfect adorning ...  
*sag ni-sal-sal<sup>2</sup>-e* [ ] anointing the head ...

<sup>1</sup> *lapātu, ṣu'umu.*

<sup>2</sup> *sal ... dú(g), Gud. Cyl. A, VI; sal ba-ni-ib-e-ne, Gud. Cyl. A, XXII. Perhaps: kunnu, taknitu.*

*á-gi(g)-ba<sup>1</sup> im-a igi-mu-ni-ib-bir<sup>2</sup>(?)* [ At evening he clouds the eyes in dark-  
ness  
*igi-lul<sup>3</sup> ni-ag-* [ a ruin of the eyes, he causes ...;  
*ki-na(d) dúr-gar kalag-ga ù hi-li ne-in-* [ the bed, the resting place of virility  
and vigor is ....  
*uru-ki im-ni-gí(n) ne-* [ the city, the winds all together are....  
*]ne šu-ne-ne ba-dū-ni ša(g)-mé* [ ..... their hands, his founding, in the  
*ni-ag-* [ battle ...  
[ *]mu-túm mé-ki me-šú-tag-ga* [ .... brought, in the battle, may the  
*ha-ba-ab-* [ leader ...  
[ *]en-lil-lá-ge he-ne-ib-* [ ..... of Enlil, may he ...  
[ *]lum-bi-šú ha-* [ .....  
.....

## No. 18. CBS. 14181

## VOTIVE CONE OF ARAD-SIN

The present cone is a duplicate of the cone published by A. T. CLAY in YOS. I, No. 31. It was acquired from dealers in New York, and originates from Uruk (Warka). It has several variants, which prove that the scribes were dealing freely with the text.

## I

1 *<sup>a</sup>Ninni*  
*nin ní-gal gúr-ru*  
*išib šar-ra tab-ba*  
*dumu-gal <sup>a</sup>En-ru-na*  
5 *nin-a-ni-ir*  
*warad <sup>ii</sup> Sin*  
*mun še-ga Nibru<sup>ks</sup>*  
*ú-a urí<sup>ki</sup> ma*  
*sag-li-tar gir-su<sup>ki</sup>*

To Innina,  
the great awe inspiring lady,  
interpreter of the twin universe,<sup>4</sup>  
eldest daughter of Sin,  
his lady,  
Arad-Sin  
the favorite prince of Nippur,  
providing to the wants of Ur,  
care taking of Girsu

<sup>1</sup> LEGRAIN, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 42. Cf. *tamḫá, tamḫatá*, and stela of Bašašušinak, *AK*, p. 178 d, II, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *adāru*, Br. 9371. *Palāsu*, Br. 8499.

<sup>3</sup> *Sarru*, *šagaštu*.

<sup>4</sup> *Etillit šamē u iršitim*. Cf. *Lugalzaggisi*, OBI. 87, I, 6: *išib-an-na*— and *<sup>a</sup>Nin-šubur, išib* :g-ga an-ki (or an-na?), Coll. de Clercq, No. 255.



- 10 *ki lagaš<sup>ki</sup> a*  
*é-babbar-da ní-te(g)-gà*  
*lugal arar<sup>ki</sup> ma*  
*lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri*  
*dun à-àg-gà ūr-ūr<sup>1</sup>*  
 15 *giš-bar šu-dū-dū<sup>2</sup>*  
*é-dingir-ri-e-ne*  
*šū-gibil ne-in-ag*  
*urudu-alam-gal-gal*  
*mu-pa(d)-da nam-lugal-la-ka-na*  
 20 *gal-bi ne-in-laḥ-ga*  
*uru šub-šub-ba-bi*  
*bád-bi mu-dū-a*  
*ma-da damal-la-na*  
*uku-ne ḥa-ne-in-dūr-a*  
 25 *ní-tuk ša(g)-ka-gál*

- 1 *erín šu-a-gi-gi-a me-en.*  
*giš-tug-pi damal*  
*kin-da-rí dīm-me-ne*  
<sup>a</sup>*En-ki-ge ma-an-sum-ma*  
 5 *nam-bi-šū<sup>a</sup> Ninni nin-má*

- ka ša(g)-šá(g)<sup>3</sup>-gi-da-má*  
*é ní-tug-na*  
*ki-dūr im-dúb-bu<sup>4</sup>*  
*ša(g)-ḥul-la-ka-ni*  
 10 *igi-dū-ū-ne*  
*ša(g)-bi keš(da)-si(g)*  
*diri(g) ud-bi-da-ka*  
*é šu-sí(g)-ga-bi<sup>5</sup>*  
*ū-mu-damal*  
 15 *ud-ul-šū*  
*nam-mu-šū ḥu-mu-dū*

in the city of Lagaš,  
 worshipping in the temple of Babbar,  
 king of Larsa,  
 king of Sumer and Akkad,  
 the noble collector of oracles  
 who achieved the inclosure;  
 restored the  
 temple of the gods;  
 let enormous copper statues  
 named after his majesty  
 be brought along in great style;  
 restoring the wall  
 of the ruined city;  
 in her large land  
 in order that people might settle down,  
 the terrible overthrower

## II

who repels the enemy, am I.  
 Having received from Ea,  
 a wide understanding  
 to accomplish lasting works,  
 in accord with the order of Innina my  
 lady,  
 and my own prayers,  
 her awe inspiring shrine,  
 dwelling of peaceful rest,  
 where her heart rejoices,  
 a wonder for the eyes,  
 inside I fully adjusted,  
 (and) more than in former days,  
 the surrounding temple  
 I enlarged.  
 For future days,  
 to my fame I did build.

<sup>1</sup> "Ištar ... bēltū šurbutu, ḥamemat paras <sup>a</sup> Anumtu, and: Ninni, nin an-ki ge, ... é me-ūr-ūr, ki-dūr ki-àg-gà-ni. Á-àg-gà: taklīmtu, tērtu. Rim-Sin (SAK. p. 218, d) é á-àg-gà-kili(b) ūr-ūr.

<sup>2</sup> Mušaklil usurāti. Cf. Cyl. of Sargon, YOS. I, No. 38, Col. II, 6: uštešira usurāti.

<sup>3</sup> Suppu, tēmēqu, Br. 719, 720.

<sup>4</sup> Pašāḥu, nīḥtu, Br. 8457, 8458.

<sup>5</sup> Rim-Sin (SAK. p. 218, d): é šu-sí(g)-ga-bi.

<i>sag-bi mu-ni-il</i>	Its head I reared high,
<i>ḥar-sag-dim ḥu-mu-sar</i>	like a mountain I did raise.
<i>nig-ag-ag-da-ne-e-šú</i>	Upon all these doings
20 <i><sup>a</sup>Ninni nin-mu</i>	may Innana, my lady
<i>ḥa-mu-ši-ḥul</i>	rejoice.
<i>ud-gid-du mu-ḥe-gál-la</i>	Length of days, abundance of years,
<i>aš-te subuṣ-gi-na</i>	a throne firmly established,
<i>pa uku gam-gam</i>	a scepter subduing the people
25 <i>sag-e ḥa-ma-ni-in-pa-tug-du</i>	may she as a gift bestow upon me.

The power of Arad-Sin did not extend beyond Nippur, Ur, Lagaš and Larsa. The still-existing kingdom of Isin must be located north of Nippur, next to the more recent kingdom of Babylon.

Innina, the lady of Uruk, the eldest daughter of Sin, had a shrine of her own<sup>1</sup> within the great temple complex of Uruk é-an-na. She is distinct from Na-na-a, another personification of the brilliant starry heaven, queen of Uruk, whose shrine was named.<sup>2</sup> é ḥi-li-an-na. Innina and Babbar are daughter and son of the moon god Sin, whereas Nanâ is only daughter of Anu.<sup>3</sup> Another daughter of Anu.<sup>4</sup> <sup>d</sup>Nin-in-si-na emphasizes the character of creatrice of life and mother of the land. She may be identical to Nanâ, but her temple bore the significant name of "temple of the plant of life."<sup>5</sup> <sup>d</sup>Nin-an-sí-an-na<sup>6</sup> is another name of Innina, who was worshiped outside of Uruk, in Hallab<sup>7</sup> under the name of Ninni Zababu<sup>ki</sup>, eldest daughter of the moon god.

Whatever may have been the position and importance of Anu, the father of the gods,<sup>8</sup> as founder of the main temple of Uruk: é-an-na, the leading rôle very soon was claimed by Innina

<sup>1</sup> *é-nir-gál-an-na*, Esarhaddon, YOS. I, No. 41.

<sup>2</sup> YOS. I, No. 40: *bît paḥaḥ* <sup>d</sup>Nanâ.

<sup>3</sup> *Nin ḥi-li še-ir-ka an-di; dumu ḥi-li an-gal-la*. Inscriptions of Rim-Sin.

<sup>4</sup> *Nin-gal, ama kalama, ḥi-gál kalam dim-dim-me*; Arad-Sin, stone tablet.

<sup>5</sup> *É-ú-nam-ti(l)-la*. Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Bur-Sin, stone tablet.

<sup>7</sup> Inscription of Arad-Sin.

<sup>8</sup> Brick of Ur-Engur. While Enlil is always: *lugal kur-kur-ra: bêt matáti*.

or Nana the Ištar of Uruk. From Ur-Engur down to Esarhaddon of Assyria all building inscriptions are concerned with repairs or enlargements of the temple é-anna, of the beloved shrine of Innina. Anu is mentioned in a casual way, as the consort of Nanâ: bit <sup>1</sup> Anum ù Antum.<sup>1</sup>

## No. 19. CBS. 8255

Provision of barley brought down as salary and transferred to Šamaš "to rejoice his heart." Two men witnessed the transaction that took place on the 11th of Simanu, the 28th year of Samsuiluna, son and successor of Hammurabi.

1 še gur igi 10 gál  
 ugu Šu-ra?-du-lu  
<sup>a</sup>Babbar in-tuk  
 mu-tum á-ka  
 ša(g) <sup>a</sup>Babbar  
 ne-ib-du(g)-gi  
 igi <sup>11</sup>Da-mu-e-ri-ba-am  
 igi <sup>11</sup>En-lil-mu-ba-lí-it-ta-ki  
 itu síg-a ud 11 kam  
 mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal  
 á-ág-gà <sup>a</sup>En-lil-lá-ta

1 gur of barley +  $\frac{1}{10}$  of gur  
 property of Šuradulu(?)  
 to Šamaš is transferred,  
 a deposit from salary  
 in which the heart of Šamaš  
 rejoices.  
 witness Damu-eribam  
 witness Enlil-muballitaki  
 month of Simanu, the 11th,  
 year when King Samsuiluna,  
 by the oracle of Enlil.

## No. 20. CBS. 14234

Liturgy of the moon god, Sin-Nannar of Ur. Fragment of a large two column tablet. Only part of Rev., Col. 1, is preserved to some extent.

é kiš-šir-gál nam-lugal-la-mu  
 é ʔi(d) é-ir-e-mu di-ni-tum gar-ra-mu

E-kišširgal, temple of my royalty,  
 my temple of life, and lamentation,  
 my place of judgment.

## No. 21. CBS. 12700

Historical religious fragment mentioning Libit-ištar, 5th king of Isin.

<sup>1</sup> Inscription of Seleucides, 244 B.C. YOS. I, No. 52.

.....	.....
[            ]-ni sag-[	.....
[            ] é(?) -ga(?) la-nu [	.....
[            ] unú <sup>ki</sup> šú šuku dingir-ri [	to Uruk(?) food offerings of the gods...
é-kur-ta nam-ti(l) [	from Ekur, for the life ....
xi-ša(g)-gál uru-ni [	the existence, his city ....
<sup>a</sup> Li-bi-it-ištar [	Libit-ištar ....
lugal-mé-šú dūr-kur-[	for the king of the battle ...
da-da-ra <sup>1</sup> nam-bul-[	splendor, joy ....
gir-úr-ra igi-[	sheathed sword ...
mé a-nim-dim <sup>a</sup> -[	like the battle of Anu(?)....
il-gi-na pi-ki [	the firm ....,
dag sag-kal <sup>2</sup> dag-[	the chief (mace?) stone, the stone ...
su-e-ib-úr <sup>3</sup> igi-[	the shield ...
[            ]sag-s'ig-ga sag [	.... graceful head ...
.....	.....

## No. 22. CBS. 14233

Fragment of school tablet. Obverse had only one column "to be copied" on the adjoining blank. It is a literary text. The reverse had a list of square roots preserved at least up to 37 under the common formula:

1 e 1 ib-di; 4 e 2 ib-di; 9 e 3 ib-di, etc.

## OBSERVE

dug á-sag-ga <sup>4</sup> mu-il [	the vessel on his head he carried [
<sup>a</sup> Šuruppak <sup>5</sup> ud ... ta ... [	the god of Šuruppak ...
é <sup>a</sup> Šuruppak dú(g)-ne ba-ra-il [	the temple of the god of Šuruppak, its commands do not stand ...
ab-ku-tu el-i-um	to be copied above.

## No. 23. CBS. 12735 + 12736

Historical and religious document. Just the names of <sup>a</sup>Nin-Sun and of Ur <sup>a</sup>Engur are clear enough in the much-

<sup>1</sup> Ninbutu, Br. 6677.

<sup>2</sup> Avaridu, kattillu, Br. 3619, 3620.

<sup>3</sup> Kabābu, Br. 210.

<sup>4</sup> Dug sag-gā, SAI. 2288; MIO. Tello, No. 892, VII. 25. Dug á-ne-tum, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> A title of Marduk, Br. 223, 224.

damaged text. The two fragments belong to a four sided prism, which had two columns on each face (A, B, C . . . ). The prism was bored from top to bottom and was probably kept revolving round a horizontal stick or rod, like a seal cylinder. Apparently the document had to be read frequently, and perhaps was a record of a rich endowment.

One year of the reign of King Ur-Engur is dated from the foundation of the temple of Nin-Sun.<sup>1</sup> The goddess is called the mother of Gudea of Lagaš<sup>2</sup> and later on, of Sin-gašid king of Uruk.<sup>3</sup> She is closely associated with <sup>d</sup>Lugal-banda.<sup>4</sup> Both of them were certainly worshiped in Uruk,<sup>5</sup> where they probably had their proper shrine in the large temple Ê-an-na. Priests<sup>6</sup> were attached to the cult of Nin-sun. Fields insured<sup>7</sup> her revenues. A fragment of limestone object<sup>8</sup> with a square hole cut in the center, has preserved the name of one of her temples: é uru-azag-ga, perhaps in Lagaš.

It is interesting to note that in the present fragment, as in the now complete text<sup>9</sup> of Libit-ištar, Nin-sun is called the pure lady: *nin-zi(d)* and *nin-sun-zi(d)*.

Attention has been called by FR. THUREAU-DANGIN<sup>10</sup> to the fact that both are synonyms of Ninsun: "the wild cow" (*rimtum*). A priest was attached to her in that quality: *en-nin-sun-zi(d)*. His functions were those of the "*ašippu*" reading the signs and interpreting the omina, the will of the gods. The shrine itself where the various scenes of the cult were enacted, was called: *é-gi(g)-par*.

<sup>1</sup> SAK. p. 228, c).

<sup>2</sup> SAK. p. 140, XXIII, 19.

<sup>3</sup> SAK. p. 220, a); 222, c).

<sup>4</sup> SAK. p. 222, c); DE CLERCQ, Cat., No. 151, 252: *arad* <sup>d</sup>Lugal-banda *ù* <sup>d</sup>Nin-sun.

<sup>5</sup> LANGDON, SBP. 154, No. 1; *Drehem*, p. 23, No. 2. Offerings of Ur-Engur to <sup>d</sup>Nin-[sun?]  
CBS. 4560 (PBS. X<sup>2</sup>). CT. X, 20, Col. II, 14. And SAK. p. 222, c) *é kankal é ki-dúr ša(g)-  
bul-la-ka-ne-ne*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ur-bau, sangu* <sup>d</sup>Ninsun, on a seal, MIO. Tello, 2730. *Pa sangu* <sup>d</sup>Ninsun, RTC. 264, f. II, 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Še a-sa(g)* <sup>d</sup>Ninsun *é igi-il ta*, CT. X, 20, Col. II, 14-17. G. REISNER, Tello, 95, Col.

VII, 19.

<sup>8</sup> A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 29.

<sup>9</sup> Clay cone of Libit-ištar, SAK. p. 205, and A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 27.

<sup>10</sup> SAK. p. 204, k) quoting SBH. No. 56, Rev. 13-18.

Whatever may have been the origin and importance of the *ziggurat*, the stage tower, of the great temple complex, the *gi(g)-par*, or *é gi(g)-par*,<sup>1</sup> was the shrine, the house of the god (*é*; *ki-dúr*; *kummi elli*). It had cedar door (*giš-gál*, *erin*, *elammaqu*), and a statue of the god (*alam*) in cedar wood and bronze, fixed on the precious pavement (*kisal*; *uššum lalū*), in the heart of the temple, the place of oracles (*me-ta é-e-ge: ina terêti bîti*). In the ground underneath was buried the foundation document (*temenu*). The shrine itself (*parakku*) was surrounded by several courts and store places (*ușurâte*). Priest or priestess had a dormitory adjoining to it (*majalum*). Food offerings formed a regular income (*sattukku*). A large endowment included fields, orchards, servants and cattle (*eqlê*, *kirêti*, *aštapiři*, *alpê û šeni*).

The proper function of the priest or priestess (*en*, *nin-dingir-ra*; *paraș enûti*) called for registration and interpretation of all signs and oracles (*ina šibir ašiputim*). The daughter of Nabonidus was priestess for her lifetime. All titulars of such functions were elected by sort (*maš-e pa(d)-da*). The kings<sup>2</sup> dated many years of their reign by such solemn investitures.

Location and name of the proper shrine of the gods is very important, and will throw a welcome light on the origin of Babylonian or Sumero-Akkadian religion. The stage towers and their ponderous mass have too long drawn the main attention. All their names agree on one point; they were: "mountain towers" (*é-kur*; *é ħarsag*), and like mountains, playing their part of support and foundation of heavens (*temen-ni-il*). But the shrine, where the statue was enthroned,<sup>3</sup> and oracles delivered,

<sup>1</sup> A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 27: text of Libit-ištar; No. 36: text of Anam, king of Uruk; No. 45: text of Nabonidus. On the *gi-paru*, cf. CLAY, YOS. I, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps YOS. I, No. 27 should read: Libit-ištar, king of Isin, desire of the heart of Innina, a *gi-paru*, for the priest (*en*) of nin-sun-zi(d), the priest of Nin-ezen in Ur, the pure seer of <sup>3</sup>Nin-é-ni-ga, the orderer of purification, in the house of vessels, for Arazunišu-gubba (a proper name? "Standing up for his prayer"), his beloved son, the day when justice was established in Sumer and Akkad, in the city of Ur, he built it.

<sup>3</sup> *Ilâni mašal mâtišu, ina parakkišunu idki ma ... (Mardukapaliddin)*. Cf. Statue of Marduk, KB. III, p. 140.



was built on the court level next to the tower. Now, which of the two, tower or shrine, was the earliest foundation and place of cult? Which are their racial origin and meaning? This is actually beyond the question. The great towers reached only by degree that enormous mass. We have no evidence that they were at first the tombs of the god. The gods were worshiped as living kings, not as dead beings. Sacrifices were offerings of food and drinks. Sacrifices once over, prayers were addressed to them. On New Year's eve the ruling king held the hand of the god in token of special investiture.

Assuredly the Greek tradition knows the *ταφος*, or tomb of Bêl. But nothing proves that the word means the stage tower. Most likely it is a translation of another word for shrine: *gigunu*, which next to *giparu* calls for some remarks. Both of them are composed with the word *gi*: reed, and mean a reed construction, a hut, a shrine, perhaps a tomb. Reeds are the natural outgrowth of a marsh land, where they would be used for mats and partitions. The creation story pictures at the beginning of things a time when no reed-mat (*giparu*)<sup>1</sup> had been woven or twisted. *Gigunû* has been identified with cemetery, tomb, grave, but in the days of Gudea,<sup>2</sup> or Rim-Sin,<sup>3</sup> *gigunû* is a shrine, a beloved dwelling of the god, built in cedar wood, inside *ša(g)* the great temple.

*Gigunû* means just the great reed house. *Unu*, or *gunu* the latter part of the word, is the picture of an older sort of house, *AB* or *ÊŠ*, with slanting sides and conic top, half way between

<sup>1</sup> IV R. 35/36. *Giparu* between *bitâte* and *agurri* in *Rec. de Trav.* XIX, p. 46, l. 17. Why FR. MARTIN T.R., p. 6, n. 10, makes of it a "temple à étages" is not clear. It is a house, within the great temple complex, where the priest would perform his functions in front of his god: *é-an-na, éš gig-par aṣag-ga; nam-en-na-ba*, CBS. 4577 (LANGDON, PBS. X, 2). Gudea (Cyl. A) in temple Baga, or the temple of his mother Gatumdug, first enters the place (*ki-na(d) . . bagin*), offers sacrifice and libation (*nig giš-ne-šum; a-šé ni-de*), then goes to the statue (*. . ra mu-na-gin*), prays (*sub mu-na-tum*) and his prayer is granted. All statues of gods are "introduced" into the house.

<sup>2</sup> Statue B, V, 18-20; D. II, 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> Arad-Sin, VAB. p. 214, e); Rim-Sin, CT. XXI, 32: 91144, Col. II. Cf. RA. VII, 109, 3. POGNON, *Bav.* p. 56.

*SU* the leather tent and *URU* the city. *Ē* and *Ē-GĀL* temple and palace are more comprehensive words. *ĒŠ* is properly the shrine, the covered house, the beloved dwelling place, where the heart of the god rejoices. There he has his bed (*ki-nad*)<sup>1</sup> and his throne. His major-domo *lū é-du(g)* is waiting upon him. His chief adviser (*ad-gí-gí*) brings in all requests; his high minister (*sukkallu*) transmits outside his orders. The oldest inscriptions know many of those shrines: *éš Girsu*;<sup>2</sup> *éš Dug-ru*;<sup>3</sup> *éš gú-túr*;<sup>4</sup> *éš é-ninnu*.<sup>5</sup> Proper names recall the function of the priestess: *nin-isib éš-ta*; *nin éš-aṣag-ga*.<sup>6</sup> Mention of a reed shrine is found in the old inscription of Entemena<sup>7</sup> *éš-gi* <sup>d</sup>*Ningirsu* and *éš-gi gi-ka-na* <sup>d</sup>*Ningirsu*, which seems much like the *giparu* shrine, *éš gig-par*<sup>8</sup> of a more recent text.

*Gi-ka-na*, which may be read: *gi-gù-na*, is another puzzling term for shrine. In the inscription of Entemena, it is clearly in connection with the reed shrine of Ningirsu. There were others, *gi-ka-na*, of Nina,<sup>9</sup> Nin-maḥ,<sup>10</sup> Enki,<sup>11</sup> Nin-ḥarsag.<sup>12</sup> They probably stood up in the midst of a sacred grove.

Assuredly the *gigunû* was a sacred place, pure like the *abzu*,<sup>13</sup> the shrine(?) of Enki. To what extent this points toward the grave and the nether world is uncertain. Urukagina inscriptions make clear that there were two ways of burying people: in regular tombs (*ki-maḥ*), or to place him (? *û-gub*) on the reeds of Enki, which perhaps means burning him at the stake. In

<sup>1</sup> Gudea, Cyl. B.

<sup>2</sup> Ur-ninā, c), II (SAK. p. 4).

<sup>3</sup> Entemena, a) II, 7. (SAK. p. 30.)

<sup>4</sup> Ur-Bau, V, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Gudea, Cyl. A, VIII, 1; XXII, 8.

<sup>6</sup> G. REISNER, *Telloh*, 150, 158 pass.

<sup>7</sup> SAK. p. 32, 36, b) and l).

<sup>8</sup> CBS. 4577, LANGDON, PBS. X, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Entemena, a) 1, II, 5.

<sup>10</sup> TSA. LXI; Ruine de Lagaš in Nouv. Fouilles de Tello, p. 47: *gi-ka-na* <sup>d</sup>*Nin-maḥ tir-aṣag-ga-ka-ka*. THUREAU-DANGIN, RA. VI, p. 26, 30, n. 11.

<sup>11</sup> HUSSEY, ST. 41, obv. III; RTC. 47, f. IV, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Entemena, a) V, 3-4: *gi-ka-na tir-aṣag-ga* : the shrine of the sacred grove.

<sup>13</sup> Gud. Cyl. A, XXIV, 20.

this latter case provisions are made for three sorts of people interested in the funerals. The priestess<sup>1</sup> is one of them (*nin-dingir-ri*). But we cannot infer that the shrine was the proper burying ground, or owed its origin to such a practice.

No. 24. CBS. 14123

Pre-Sargonic document of comptability. It is dated on the "*bal*"—year of reign or of some minor charge—of Ka-ni-zi(d).<sup>2</sup> At the time of Dungi, of Ur, "*bal*" seems to cover the space of a month.<sup>3</sup>

*galu*  
*gan-šam*  
*si(g)-si(g)-ga<sup>4</sup>(?)*  
*bal*  
*Ka-ni-zi(d)*

which the  
field surveyor  
has determined.  
At the time  
of Kanizi.

No. 25. CBS. 14014

Fragment of historical inscription. Franchise granted to the city of Ur.

..... *a<sup>1</sup>nusku-ra(?)*  
*ur<sup>ki</sup>i šú in-da-túm*  
*ur<sup>ki</sup>i ma*  
*duššu-ne*  
*in-gí*  
*[d]un(?) -a-dúr<sup>6</sup>-ne*

... for Nusku,  
was brought along to Ur;  
In Ur  
the badges of slavery<sup>5</sup>  
he abolished;  
the digging ....

<sup>1</sup> In Gilgameš poem we find Rimat-Bêlit, the mother of Gilgameš acting as a priestess of Nin-sun at Uruk, and interpreting signs and dreams (*mudât kalama idi*). At sunrise she will pile up incense on charcoal (*qutrinna iškun*), place offerings on the altar (*šurqa iškun*), and lift her hands in prayer toward the east (*ina maḥar Šamaš ideša išši*). Tablet III, Col. I a, 14-16; II a, 8-10. Cf. Le *šit šamši* de Šilḥak-in-šušinak, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXI, p. 41. Gilgameš presents the god Lugal-banda, with the big horn of the heavenly bull (*ana piššati ilišu*), Tablet VI, 192.

<sup>2</sup> SAK. p. 224, tablets from Šuruppak, b).

<sup>3</sup> LEGRAIN, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Še-si(g)-ga, Urukagina, h), XII.

<sup>5</sup> The reed corb carried on the head, the sign of compulsory work.

<sup>6</sup> *Hirā ša irsili*. *Nam-umun dun-a*, CT. X, 31, Col. VI, 25. *Nam-buru dun-a* and *nam-buru nu-dun-a*, REISNER, *Telloh*, 129, Col. II, 8-26. *Buru*, Br. 8632: measure bushels of še in the granary (*kalakku*). *Dun* <sup>a</sup>*Ba-ú-ka-me*, HUSSEY, ST. No. 26, r. II. The chief: *a-dun-a*, *ibid.* No. 21, r. V. *A-dúr-mu*, Gudea, Cyl. A. X, 1, 11.

## No. 26. CBS. 8358

Historical building inscription. Nin-din-ú(g)-ga the Sumerian Ištar, in whom both characters of Bau, and Innana<sup>1</sup> are combined, is here called the great diviner (*ašipu*)<sup>2</sup> of Enlil. But the Sumerian name is more exact and means the one who plants, grows, prepares any magical herbs and knows the crafty receipts of oils, pastes and balsams. She is physician just as much as diviner. She is the lady who revives all dead (*muballit mitûti*).

Her proper temple, her great temple in Nippur,<sup>3</sup> near Enlil, is called *é a-mer-aṣag*; the temple of the shining crown. The temple of Ningirsu at Lagaš had a construction of the same name: *é-a-mer-bār-bār*,<sup>4</sup> which stood up like a mountain of lapis lazuli between heaven and earth. This description would be very fitting for a stage tower. *Ē-banda-ka*, which means the house of the young ones, is very likely the name of the temple builder. It can hardly be considered as expressing that the great temple, *é-a-mer-aṣag*, was towering over the smaller temple of Enlil.

The tablet may have been a record of several votive inscriptions.

## OBVERSE

<sup>a</sup>*Nin-din-ú(g)-ga*  
*nin-šim-šār-gal*  
<sup>a</sup>*En-lil-là ra*  
*é-a-mer-aṣag*  
*é-ni gu-la*  
<sup>a</sup>*En-lil-là-ka*  
*é-dumu-ka*  
*mu-na-ni-dū*  
*šim-erín gal-gal*  
 [                    ] *e nin-ki-ib.*

To Nin-dinugga,  
 the great enchantress  
 of Enlil,  
 the temple of the brilliant crown,  
 her great temple  
 of Enlil (= Nippur?)  
 Edumu-ka  
 has built for her.  
 Cedar oil in abundance,  
 . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN, *Fragt. d'hymne, Nouv. Fouilles de Tello*, p. 200. Cf. *ir-sem-ma*, VR. 52, No. 1, IV, 15. OBI. No. 95, 106, 111.

<sup>2</sup> Br. 5174.

<sup>3</sup> *É Nin-din-ú(g)-ga ša(g) é Nin-lil-lá*, LEGRAIN, *Le temps des rois d'Uruk*, No. 293, 339, 371.

<sup>4</sup> Gud. Cyl. A. XXV, 12-13.

## REVERSE I

.....  
*Ur*<sup>d</sup> [  
*lugal*  
*<sup>d</sup>En-lil-li*  
*ki-ág* [  
 .....

.....  
*Ur*<sup>d</sup> ...  
 king  
 of Enlil,  
 beloved place  
 ....

## REVERSE II

[ ..... ] .. *a-kam*  
*sagšû*  
*an-gub-ba* 7

of such a ...  
 helmet  
 brought up 7.

## No. 27. CBS. 8424

This must be one of the earliest dated pre-Sargonic documents. The ruin of Maer must be contemporary of the foundation of Upi by Unzi. (Cf. No. 1.)

## OBSERVE I

[... *amar-sal-peš*  
 [ ..... ] *-bal-a*  
 [ ..... ] *-ni*  
 ... *amar-sal-peš ad-lal*  
 .... *<sup>d</sup>En-lil*  
 .. 4 *amar-sal-peš ad-lal*  
 .. *Bil-sag*  
 ... 3 *amar-sal-peš ad-lal*

..... heifers  
 ....  
 ....  
 .. mature heifers  
 ... *<sup>d</sup>Enlil*;  
 .. 4 mature heifers  
 ... *Bilsag*;  
 .. 3 mature heifers

## OBSERVE II

*Ur-pa*  
*é <sup>d</sup>lugal-mes-lam-ki*  
 .... *amar-sal-peš ad-lal*  
*Adab<sup>ki</sup> ki-du(g)*

*Urpa*  
 of the temple of *<sup>d</sup>Lugal meslam<sup>ki</sup>*;  
 ... mature heifers  
*Adab-kidug*;

## OBSERVE II

[ ..... ] *amar-sal-peš ad-lal*  
*nam* [  
 .....

.. mature heifers.  
*Nam* ... ;  
 ....

<sup>1</sup> Temple of Nergal in Kutha, CT. IX, 3, f. 5, r. 1-4. Cf. *É <sup>d</sup>Lugal-úru<sup>ki</sup>* at Lagaš.

## REVERSE I

<i>amar-sal-</i>	heifers
<i>pa-utul</i> [	the chief herdsmen,
<i>na-ne-sum</i>	have given;
6 <i>amar-sal-peš-si</i>	6 red heifers
<sup>a</sup> <i>id-ne-ne</i> <sup>1</sup>	Idnene
<i>he-KU-šú</i> <sup>2</sup>	for the hireling
<i>an-na-sum</i>	has given,
<i>nam-da-urù</i> ....	Namdauru <sup>3</sup>
<i>ab šuš</i> [	butcher ...

## REVERSE II

[       ] <i>amar-sal dū<sup>4</sup>-a</i>	... fat heifers
<i>gà+nun-maḫ-ta</i>	from the great store,
<i>é(?) -ab-šú</i> (? or <i>ra</i> )	for the butcher shop,
<i>ni-ne-sum</i>	they have given
<i>še-gùr-kud</i>	month of Segurkud,
<i>mu Ma-ri<sup>5</sup></i>	year when Maer,
<i>ḫul-a</i>	was destroyed.

## No. 28. CBS. 14193

Fragment of envelope of a case tablet with a seal impression of a patesi of Marad. The city has been identified with Wannet es Sa'dun, west of Nippur on the Euphrates. Its relative importance seems to date back from Narâm-Sin. The temple of its god <sup>a</sup>Sar-Marad-da had been founded by him. It was restored<sup>5</sup> by King Nebuchadnezzar II, who searched for and found the *temenu*, the foundation stone of Narâm-Sin. The

<sup>1</sup> <sup>a</sup>*Narâti*. Cf. Code and Rit-Taf. 27, K. 4245, II, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *He-KU*, a class of enlisted or hired troops or servants. *Erin-im-nu-il* and *erin-he-KU*, REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 3; receive a monthly salary. A scribe keeps a list of their names, CT. X. 45, obv. 5. They live in their own quarters: *é-he-ku*. REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 160, VIII, 24. They have a daily grain allowance, MIO. *Tello*, No. 745, r. 3; or are paid in silver: *a he-KU aṣag-babbar*, MIO. *Tello*, No. 3757. They were attached to many temples and palaces: <sup>a</sup>*Nin-mar<sup>kt</sup>*, *é<sup>a</sup>giš-bar-è*; *é<sup>a</sup>Ninâ*; *é Nam-ḫa-ni*; *Gir-su<sup>kt</sup>*; *he-KU kalama-il, gir-si(g)-ga é-gal*; *he-KU mar-sa-me*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Uru: nasâru*, Br. 6443: they shall be kept?

<sup>4</sup> *Duḫḫudu*, or *ipteru*?

<sup>5</sup> A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 44.



name of the temple was: *é-igi-kalama*. A son of Narâm-Sin: Libet-ili was patesi of Marad. Some more patesis and priests of Marad are quoted in business documents of the Ur dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The new patesi lived under the rule of Dungi, who is called the divine Dungi. The exact date is probably posterior to the year 35 +  $\infty$  of the same king.

*<sup>a</sup>Dun-gi*  
*nita kalag-ga*  
*lugal ur<sup>ki</sup> ma*

*Li-ša-lum*  
*mar Šu-ni-li*  
*patesi*  
*Marad-da<sup>ki</sup>*  
*warad-ru*

# No. 29. CBS. 8370

Fragment of historical and religious inscription: praise of Dungi.

## OBVERSE

*Būr<sup>a</sup> [ ]*  
*me [ ] nita(?) šú ...*  
*..... il(?) -bi-da-ta*  
*dingir ub-da-tab-tab kalama sag*  
*aš sí(g)-ga-bi*  
*<sup>a</sup>Dun-gi-ra*  
*giš-pi-túg gú-mu-na-gar-ra-a*  
*<sup>a</sup>Dun-gi*  
*dumu An-na*  
*<sup>a</sup>kalam-ma-ge*  
*é-il*

.....  
.....  
.....  
god of the four regions, his decision is  
reaching all over the country;  
to the divine Dungi  
intelligence was given in a full measure;  
the divine Dungi  
son of Anu  
god of the country  
has exalted the temple;

## REVERSE

*šukum-dingir-ri-ne*  
*[ ]-gub-ba*  
*[ ]-šig-ag*  
.....

the food offerings of the gods  
..... brought up  
..... were gracefully made  
.....

<sup>1</sup> Leg. No. 357, 294.

## No. 30. CBS. 15066

Fragment of business document. Grain salaries for people concerned with the house of tablets or archives: *é-dub-ba*. The document is dated on the 18th Simanu, the 2nd year of Gimil-Sin: *mu má šig-abzu*. . . .

The variant *šig* (cf. *dar*) for *dara*, shows that the two expressions concern the same animal: the wild mountain goat, later a symbol of the god Ea, on the *kudurrus* of the Cassite period.<sup>1</sup>

## No. 31. CBS. 14177

Seal impression of a scribe servant of Kallamu patesi of Asnunna, on a receipt for grain:

Kal-la-mu  
pa-te-si  
Aš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> ka  
Lu <sup>d</sup>En-zu dub-sar  
Arad-zu.

Several patesis of Ašnunna<sup>2</sup> are known: like Ituria. Mekubi,<sup>3</sup> daughter of Gibillama, patesi of Ašnuna (k), was the wife of Dan-ruḫuratir, patesi of Susa.

## No. 32. CBS. 8234

Legal document. Nonsuit ordered by the judge. Seven witnesses took the oath in the name of the king.

Ur-dingir-ra šim(?) -gal(?)  
Lù <sup>d</sup>Enlil-lá ra  
sá in-da-tuk am  
sa-bi nu-da-bi-a  
mu-lugal ni-pa(d)

Ur-dingir-ra the great confectioner(?)  
against Lu Enlil-la:  
an action was introduced.  
The action being ordered nonsuit  
in the name of the king they were  
sworn

<sup>1</sup> *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Aš-nun-na*, *ibid.*, p. 112 and p. 45, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> SAK, p. 180.

## No. 33. CBS. 8235

Ritual of incantation, probably when they buried the urn full of ashes after they had burnt the body on the reeds of Ea. At the time of Urukagina several provisions were made for the people who took part in the funerals. Three persons were entitled to receive food and drink: the priestess (*nin-dingir-ri*), the man of the dead (*lù-di(m)-ma-ge*) and some official concerned with the burning (*bu-ninni-e*). The priestess received only a small ration of food and drink. The *lù-dimma* had a very moderate part of grain. The big share fell to the *bu-ninni-e* who took 4 gallons of sesame beer, 240 sesame cakes, and some grain. To which, before the reform, they added 1 piece of cloth, 1 bed and 1 chair. The meaning of those titles or names is not clear. In the present text the priest invokes the 7 *utukki*, Enlil (?) En-ki, Babbar (?). The funeral urn, the dead, the corpse, the dwelling of the deep abyss are mentioned, and might be a short memorial for the priestess attending the function.

An an an an an an an  
 Utug, utug utug utug utug  
     utug utug  
<sup>a</sup>en <sup>a</sup>en-lil(?)  
 en <sup>a</sup>en-ki šeš  
     <sup>a</sup>babbar(?) éš . . ri hūl  
 bur-zi<sup>1</sup>-tun(?) -sar mu-tug  
 ūg<sup>2</sup> utug ūg-ga giš-tūg-pi(?)  
 dīg<sup>3</sup>-a <sup>a</sup>en-ki ge  
 é engur-ra-ka  
 sag im-ma-ni-dú(g)<sup>4</sup>  
 [                      ] pa-hal<sup>5</sup>-la-la<sup>6</sup>  
                     mu-ta-gin.

God, god, god, god, god, god, god,  
 Spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit,  
     spirit, spirit;  
 Divine lord, divine Enlil,  
 Lord, divine Ea, brother(?)  
     divine Utu, house . . . evil  
 the urn . . . he has obtained;  
 dead spirit of the dead, hearken,  
 the corpse, the water of Ea  
 in the abysmal abode  
 have covered it high.  
 . . . . . out of the bounds(?)  
                     shall not go(?)

<sup>1</sup> *Sabharu*, Br. 6977. *Burzu*, *nakpartu*.

<sup>2</sup> RA. VII, 146, n. 1; VIII, 73, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Lù+še* = *dim* for *dīg*, the corpse, RA. XIII, 44. The skinned body of animals, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, No. 277.

<sup>4</sup> *Nakāpu*, *banū*.

<sup>5</sup> Or, *billudū*, *parakku*: jug, tub, shrine. Br. 5649, 5650.

<sup>6</sup> Negation. Cf. *Ištar* descent into hell: *ana bitī, eše-e* . . . , etc.

## No. 34. CBS. 8381

Pre-Sargonic Sumerian letter. Directions for the management of fields and orchards, probably palm-groves.

<i>ki giš-sar</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-urta ta</i>	from the plantation of Ninib
<i>ki giš-sar Nig-ga-ra-ni šú</i>	to the plantation of Niggarani
<i>ba-ra-bal al-ni-na-ba</i>	do not go across, its digging
<i>al-ag<sup>1</sup>-a-ba</i>	has been done
<i>ki giš-sar</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-urta ta</i>	In the plantation of Ninib,
<i>2 . . giš-ma + gunu<sup>2</sup>-ḥar<sup>3</sup></i>	2 . . date palm <sup>4</sup> tree enclosed (?)
<i>ba-ra-sir<sup>5</sup></i>	do not trim
<i>ki giš-sar Na-ba-ni-túm</i>	At the plantation of Nabanitum
<i>6 siḡ-a<sup>6</sup></i>	6 gardeners
<i>giš-gab-tab<sup>7</sup> ib-gid</i>	shall form a squad
<i>1 búr gan ib-urū</i>	and cultivate 1 burgan (acre)
<i>a-ni tar a-ša(g) erín-na-a e-ne-gub</i>	the ditchers <sup>8</sup> engaged in digging the
	soldier's field (?)
<i>a-ša(g)-bi 2 búr-gan</i>	their field is of 2 burgan
<i>še ḥab-gi-e pa-te-si ge ba-dib</i>	the grain shall be provided for, on the
	reserves of the patesi;
<i>a-ša(g)-bi-ta siḡ-a-ne</i>	In this field, the gardeners,
<i>a-ni-ta keš(da)-šú</i>	by the ditchers, shall form a separate
	unit.

## No. 35. CBS. 8241

Incantation by the broken reed, the reed of Apsu. <sup>d</sup>Engur, the divine abyss, is called the mother of Ea, the pure diviner of Ekur.<sup>9</sup> The text seems to be a part of the liturgy of Ea. The

<sup>1</sup> *Rapāku*.

<sup>2</sup> Varieties of *giš-ma + gunu*: *nag-ti, ūr, ŋi-na(d)*, MIO. *Tello*, No. 4644, 4646, 889. REISNER, *Tello*, No. 121.

<sup>3</sup>  $\frac{3}{4}$  *gan ḥar giš-ma + gunu-gid*, CT. X, 49, Obv. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Fruits in bunches or cakes of 5 to 3 *ga* each, MIO. *Tello*, No. 889 (*giṛ-lam*). ZA. XV, p. 38-40. Identified with the *ḥašūhu* tree, or the pomegranate (SAL. 2772). TSA. XLVIII, n. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Sanāgu*, or *šadādu*.

<sup>6</sup> *Amel urgi*. Br. 7010. *Nu-giš-sar: ikkaru*.

<sup>7</sup> *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 38, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *dū-a-tar*, TSA. XXXIV, gardeners (*nu-sar-me*), HUSSEY, ST. No. 6. *Giš-sar a-dū-a*, BE. III, No. 84, f. 57.

<sup>9</sup> Br. 10223.

god is mentioned here like in the flood story,<sup>1</sup> and the same strong alliteration is marked in both texts. Together with 7 stones, 7 statues, the precatory formula *bara*, they are characteristic of magic incantations.

## OBVERSE

<i>gi-gam-ma gi</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Engur</i>	Bent reed, reed of Engur,
<i>šuku šub-ba ba-ra</i>	Spread offerings, away;
<i>gi-aṣag-gi giš-gi aṣag-ga</i>	Pure reed, clear cane
<i>ba-ra</i>	away;
<i>li-gal li-gal-la na-ri(g)-ga</i>	great cypress, <sup>2</sup> great cypress of purification
<i>na-iṭi<sup>3</sup> si(g)-ga ba-ra</i>	piled up as smoke offering, away;
<i>šim-erin [ ]</i> , <i>šim-erin gam-gam-ma</i>	Balmy cedar, balmy cedar bent,
<i>ú [ ]-ta rá-a</i>	..... brought out;
<i>[ ]-an si(g) nam-il</i>	..... full, shall not rise,
<i>[ ] a-si(g)-ne ba-ra</i>	..... filled, away;
<i>[ ] ki el-li</i>	..... pure place,
<i>[ ] a ba-ra</i>	....., away
<i>[lugal] é ki-el-li šú</i>	..... for the pure place,
<i>[ ]-hu mu-túm</i>	..... has brought;
<i>[é <sup>a</sup>En...]</i> <i>-ir(?)</i>	the temple of En.....
<i>[ ] ba-ra</i>	....., away;
<i>[ amaš... ] àb túr</i>	..... the park .... the yard,

## REVERSE

<i>lù ... ud(?) -sar úr ne-sí(g)</i>	the ... enclosure they spread,
<i>éš zu-ab [ ]</i>	the abode of Apsu ....
<i><sup>a</sup>En-ki-ra [ ]</i>	for Ea ....
<i>2-kur-ta nam-[ ]</i>	.....
<i>2-lu [ ]</i>	.....
<i>a-ni-li ki-mu .. [ ]</i>	.....
<i>ṣa-bi 2 še(?) ba-ra</i>	the stone ....., away,
<i>ka-li-ne ṣa-li-ne</i>	the .....
<i>gu-ba il-ag dag .. alan</i>	..... the statues,
<i>tu-hu nam-hu gú ba-ra(?)</i>	Doves, birds of destiny all away;
<i>7 na-me 7 na-me</i>	7 stones they were, 7 stones they were,
<i>alan 7 e ba-ra.</i>	7 statues indeed, away.

<sup>1</sup> Kikkiš, kikkiš, igar, igar, Gilgames, Tablet XI, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Burašū.

<sup>3</sup> Qutrinnu.

## No. 36. CBS. 7874

School text on a lump of clay. Two lines of model text copied by the pupil, read as follows:

<sup>4</sup> <i>Li-bi-it-ištar</i>	Libit ištar.
<i>à-nun hu-mu-ta-gál</i>	may he possess a great strength

A good instance of loyal school work at the time of the Isin dynasty.

## No. 37. CBS. 14189

School text of the same period.

<i>Nir-gal<sup>1</sup> aṣag-ṣu-a<sup>2</sup> é(?) -šū-dim<sup>3</sup>-ma.</i>	The noble wise one of Ešudimma,
<i>Šu-nig-gál-la<sup>4</sup> Aratta<sup>5</sup> ki ka</i>	The figure of Aratta.

## No. 38. CBS. 18188

School text. Fragment of historical legend?

69 (?) <i>sag-ki-ta</i>	69 from the beginning
... <i>im-diri(g) urudu ha-zi-in al-su-su</i>	... heavy clouds, copper axe, does increase,
... <i>lal pú-bi ne-ib-si-si</i>	... gear of the well they piled up
<i>sag(?) -ki tum-da ág-gà še-ba e-da e ....</i>	the total of gathered products, the gain food ...
<i>sag-dùl-e id-da bal ...</i>	the head dam, the river across ...
<i>si-si-ik<sup>6</sup> A-ga-de<sup>ki</sup> šú ni-gi ...</i>	Sisik has returned to Agade ...
<i>a-ga-de<sup>ki</sup> a a-na-ám mu-e ni-ag</i>	in Agade Anam(?) spent the year,
<i>gi-gi(g) lul-la<sup>7</sup> im-ma-an-na-gar</i>	a ..... he has established.
<i>lù búr-ru-bi ne-in-tuk</i>	people take their lances(?)
<i>a-ga-de<sup>ki</sup> a a-bi [ ] a-dim</i>	in Agade .. like a ...
.....	.....

<sup>1</sup> Etellu.

<sup>2</sup> Enqu.

<sup>3</sup> *Sanāqu ša qati, umašu*, Br. 7092: Enclosure. *É-šu-kár(?) -ma, é uš-bar<sup>4</sup> lama<sup>4</sup> Gimil<sup>4</sup> Sin*, MIO. Tello, No. 909, IV, 16-19 (at Girsu). *É-šu-kár-dú-dú*, Br. 7138 (*zigurrat* of Ur).

<sup>4</sup> *Mēšrā*, Br. 7252.

<sup>5</sup> *Keš* and *Aratta*, *Gud. Cyl. A.*, XXVII, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Mār Šamaš*, Br. 3434.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *di lul-la: dēn ṣarti; ki lul-la: šaggaštu*.

## No. 39. CBS. 14055

Fragment of the code. Wages of the slave with or without lodgings.

## OBVERSE I

[                      ] šú  
 ...ša la ištar sag-sal  
 gím dumu ga-gál ištar(?)  
 aṣag-ta gub-ba-aš  
 ib-ta-túm  
 tukundi  
 gím gá la-ba-an-dág<sup>3</sup>  
 [ud] 1 šú á-ni [šú]  
 [                      ] še ta [ám]  
 .....

.....  
 .... no prostitute<sup>1</sup>(?) a servant,<sup>2</sup>  
 the servant the suckling baby(?)....  
 for the (price) brought in silver  
 shall take along.  
 Supposing that  
 a servant is not locked in  
 each day for her salary  
 [10 qa] of barley..  
 .....

## OBVERSE II

1 an [                      ]  
 gá la-ba-an-[dág]  
 ud 1 šú á-ni-šú  
 10 (qa) še-ta-ám  
 al-ág-e  
 kù-babbar gur-á-bi  
 arad á-ni ba-an-tu(r) (?)

1..  
 is not locked in,  
 each day for his salary,  
 10 qa of barley  
 shall be measured,  
 Silver in return<sup>4</sup>(?) for salary  
 the servant will enter on his salary

## No. 40. CBS. 14081

Liturgy of Dungi, with reference to some historical year or event.

## OBVERSE I

Sir-ru  
 pi-lul-da<sup>5</sup> gal-gal  
 sib-zi(d)  
 Dun-gi-ri

Hymn  
 for the great liberation  
 of the pious shepherd,  
 Dungi,

<sup>1</sup> Ištaritu, qadištu, nu-gig?

<sup>2</sup> Ern, abdu.

<sup>3</sup> Naparkú, Br. 5441. No lodging provided for.

<sup>4</sup> Exchange? duṣṣuru, kanáku, tárú, Br. 3361, 3362, 3367.

<sup>5</sup> Urukagina, b) VII, 26 (SAK. p. 50, c.). Opposed to ama-gi.



[            ]-ga-šú	the [valiant . . ]
mu gá-(?) ar-gà-ar	the year when the establishment <sup>1</sup>
Nibru <sup>ki</sup> a	in Nippur
<sup>d</sup> gal-gal-e-ne	the great gods
a-ru	were(?) granted;
mu a-tú-a-tú-ù-ge(?)	the year when the purification <sup>2</sup>
uru-ki a	in the city,
nam-šu(?) gú(?) šu(?) mu . . . e.	.....

## OBVERSE II

gur(?) . . . [	.....
giš-bu <sup>3</sup> -[	offspring . . .
šu-nir <sup>4</sup> a-[tú	emblem, purified(?) . . .
ù-im-gà? [	.....
ur-sag <sup>d</sup> En-lil [	the hero of Enlil,
<sup>d</sup> nin-[urta(?)	Nin-ib(?) . . .
dú(g)-ga-a mu [	to the order . . .
Pa-giš-gibil-sag [	Pasag, . . .
da-rí [ù(?)	for ever(?)
giš-ù <sup>5</sup> ga-la-ga [	cedar . . .
si-im [	.....

## REVERSE II

.....	.....
[            ]-gar-ra-ám	.... being made.

## No. 41. CBS. 14214

Hymn to <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu, the father of <sup>d</sup>Nin-giš-zi(d)-da,<sup>6</sup> the grand-father of Dumuzi-Tammuz. Like them probably a god of vegetation, reigning in Hades. Two months in the Drehem calendar borrowed their names from his legend: the 4th and 5th: "the couch (*ki-sìg*),<sup>7</sup> and feast (*ezen*)" of Nin-a-zu. They pre-

<sup>1</sup> Purification? *Tèbibtu*, *šukunnu*, Br. 12185, 12186.

<sup>2</sup> *Risnu*, Br. 11571.

<sup>3</sup> *Pirbu*, Br. 7531.

<sup>4</sup> *Šurinnu*, Br. 7198.

<sup>5</sup> *Ašûbu*.

<sup>6</sup> Gudea, St. I. (Cf. B. VI, p. 258, l. 29.).

<sup>7</sup> *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 14, n. 4.

cede the month of Akiti, which marked the return of spring. Nippur calendar does not record the name of Nin-azu, but names the 6th month: "the return of Ištar(*kin* <sup>d</sup> *Innanna*)," instead of which people in Lagaš had a: "feast of Tammuz<sup>1</sup> [*ezen* (*aṣag*) <sup>d</sup> *Dumuṣi*]." This name only prevailed in Babylonian and Assyrian time. The month of Tammuz was the month of seed sowing (*šu-numun-a*). Harvest came (*še-gur-kud*) 7 months later.

At the time of Urukagina, Nin-a-zu had his share among other gods, in the rich offerings (*ba-la*)<sup>2</sup> at Lagaš. His cult declined by degrees, and made room for the cult of his son <sup>d</sup>Nin-giš-zi(d)-da at the time of Gudea, and chiefly his famous grand-son Tammuz. Ninazu is figured here as begotten from Nannar in Ekišširgal at Ur.

## OBVERSE

<i>Lugal gal<sup>3</sup>-utul</i> [	] <i>me-en</i>	King protector of herds...	thou art,
<sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-a-ṣu gal-utul</i> [	] <i>me-en</i>	Ninazu protector of herds...	thou art,
<i>en</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-a-ṣu-mu ut[ul</i>	] <i>me-en</i>	My lord Ninazu, herds...	thou art,
<i>gi-iš(?)</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>ṣa-gin-na ma</i> [... <i>šu si</i> ...]		Reed ... of lapis lazuli....	thou art,
	<i>me-en</i>		
<i>lu(?)</i> ...[.	<i>n un-na-ma-na</i> ...	.....	thou art,
	<i>bia...me-en</i>		
<i>ki-sag-bi du-ul</i> ... <i>ṣub en</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-a-ṣu</i>	<i>me-en</i>	the place where ....	lord Ninazu,
		thou art,	
[ <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-a-ṣu ki-in-gub</i> <sup>5</sup> <i>ba-ma</i> ....		may Ninazu .....	the grave(?)
<sup>d</sup> <i>Nanna(r)</i> ... <i>e</i> .... <i>ri(?)</i> - <i>gub</i>		Nannar ...	
<i>gal šu-gal<sup>6</sup>-la(?)</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nanna(r)</i> [ <i>tu(d)</i>		Protector of ....	begotten(?) from
...]	<i>me-en</i>	Nannar ...	thou art,

<sup>1</sup> In Umma, the 12th month was dedicated to <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi.

<sup>2</sup> HUSSEY, S.T. No. 41. This curious list includes: <sup>d</sup>*Ninni ib-gal*, *ki-a-nag*, <sup>d</sup>*Ninā*, <sup>d</sup>*En-ki gi-ka-na*, <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gir-su nin-ni-gar-ra*, <sup>d</sup>*Nin-dar*, <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-ṣi-abṣu*, <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag*, <sup>d</sup>*Ab-ir-nun*, <sup>d</sup>*He-tūr*, <sup>d</sup>*Nin-ūr*, <sup>d</sup>*Nin-dub*, <sup>d</sup>*Egin-nu*, <sup>d</sup>*Dun*-(REC. 230)-*ab*, <sup>d</sup>*Nin-ṣubur*, <sup>d</sup>*Nin-a-ṣu*, <sup>d</sup>*Mes-an-du*, *Ib-ḥa-nu-kū*, <sup>d</sup>*Gā-tum-du(g)*, <sup>d</sup>*Innana*, <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-ūru*<sup>4</sup>, *Ki-a-nag*.

Nin-a-zu is called: "the Sumerian" DP. No. 49, 51 (TSA. LV).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *dakan*, sug. II: *takkannu*, *sukku*, Del. Glossar.

<sup>4</sup> *Gi-unū*; *gi-šid(?)*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ki-gub*: *qibīru*, Br. 9723; *ki-in-gi*: *mātu*, Br. 9678; *ki-in-dar*: *nigissu*, Br. 9682.

<sup>6</sup> *Pabāru*, Br. 7203.

*pa an .... ma ... arad babbar-ri-id*  
*..... in ...*  
*giš-gu-za an-ni ba(?) -ra .....*  
*zag-an-ki-šu-gir si-be-da-ab-di ud-ba-*  
*si(g) ...*  
*..... mu ud-ba si-ha-ra(?) ab-di*  
*ud-ba si(g) ...*  
*.... nam ..... zu šu im-mi-dú*  
[ ] *kur-kur-ra pa-è ùg-gà im-*  
*mi-gub*  
<sup>d</sup>Kal-zu(?) *é-kiš-sir-gál-la á-gal ha-ra*  
*me-en*

<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu urí<sup>ki</sup>-ma tu(d)-da <sup>d</sup>Nanna(r)  
*be-e-da-šuš*  
en <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu-mu urí<sup>ki</sup> ma tu(d)-da  
<sup>d</sup>Nanna(r) *be-e-šuš*

a-a mi .... gam(?) gal <sup>d</sup>En-lil-li mu-zu  
*pa-ne-in-mă(?)<sup>2</sup>*  
ama? ugu-zu ù ..... ra nam ....  
*mu-ra ...*  
é-zu uru(?) -zu kur(?) ..... ta-ki  
hu(?) -mu un

Scepter ....

Heavenly throne ...  
Sanctuary, place of ..., may stand  
firm, the storm ...  
..... the storm, may stand firm,  
the storm ...  
..... thy .... is achieved,  
.... shine on the countries, stand on  
the people  
God warrior thou, in Egišširgal<sup>1</sup> a  
great force for destruction, thou  
art  
Nina-zu in Ur begotten from Nannar,  
may he be spread out  
My lord Ninazu, in Ur begotten from  
Nanna(r) mayest thou spread  
out.  
father ... great of Enlil, thy name is  
glorified,  
mother on thee ....  
thy temple, thy city ....  
mayest thou be ...

<i>Im ki-uru<sup>3</sup> . . . . ki sud-al [...]</i>	Wind of the city . . . .
<i>bu-mu-un [...]</i>	mayest thou be . . .
<i>En <sup>a</sup>Nin-a-zu-mu ud-ba bi-bu-[</i>	My lord Ninazu, the storm, mayest
<i>ki-gal(?)bi bu-mu-un-gà-ri(?)]</i>	thou . . .
<i>mer-aṣag-gi sag-za ba-ra-ni-in-gi</i>	the grave mayest thou . . . .
	may the gold crown on thy head, never
	change place.
<i>šu-ni dīm<sup>4</sup> ba-ra-ni-in . . . .</i>	may thy hand the scepter(?) never
	let . . .
<i>. . . . . giš(?) gál a-a ugu-na . . . ša(g)</i>	. . . . . the father on . . . clear inside . . .
<i>                aṣag mu-un . . .</i>	

<sup>4</sup> *Tarbû, šurbû, sanâgu*, Br. 1166-1188. The rod, emblem of power. Cf. *pa: battu*.

.... <i>igi sag-gà mu ... in-bar</i> ....	..... on his head ...
[ ] ... <i>du(g) mu[ni-]in-kur</i> ....	.... good, shall change ..
[ ] <i>kur-kur-ra ùg-gà(?) -ne-zi</i> [	.... of the countries, thy people ...
<i>be-il(?)</i> ...	may...
[ <i>en</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>nin</i> ]- <i>a-zi-mu pi-ne-zi be-è</i> ...	My lord Ninazu, may thy ears extend ...
<i>me-ne-zi be-è</i> ...	may thy orders, come out ..
[ ] - <i>zi ki-el sal-šá(g)-ni</i>	Thy ....., the servant his grace ...
[ ] <i>nin-bar-nin-anšu(?) -gal</i> [	.....
<i>é-zi uru-zi hu-mu-ra-ab-bi</i>	Thy temple, thy city, mayest thou command unto them
<i>x<sup>1</sup>-šú ga(?) -ra-da-túm</i>	May I bring thee my prayer.
[ ] - <i>zi en</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-a-zi-mu</i>	Thy ..... my lord Ninazu.
[ <i>mu?</i> ]- <i>bal<sup>2</sup>-e</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-a-zi-kam</i>	Litany(?) of Ninazu

## No. 42. CBS. 9857

Sumerian building (votive) inscription, with several records of Dungi. The tablet was written at the time of the Isin dynasty.

## OBVERSE

<i>zi<sup>3</sup> a-maš<sup>4</sup> gar ša(g) a-ka<sup>5</sup> ni-dū<sup>6</sup> na-i</i>	Fence(?) forming enclosure round
<i>im-tab</i>	demolitions(?) the keeper(?) of
<i>éš é-bar-sag-šú Dun-gi-ra mu-na-ni-in-</i>	In the house of Eḫarsag, for Dungi, he
<i>tù(r)-tù(r)</i>	has introduced.
<i>ud-bi-a giš-e é-gal-la tu(d)-tu(d)-da-</i>	The day when, the wood, in the palace
<i>ni ...</i>	where he was born,
<i>zi giš-ra ù-ga-an-na-ab</i> ....	the fence to throw down, indeed I
<i>giš-e zi-ir ki-im-mi-ib-lal ba-ra ni-ku?</i>	the wood for the fence was exactly
<i>mu ... šá(g)-ga?</i>	weighed, without any ....
<i>am-dim si ur-a ba-ni-ib</i> ...	like a wild bull, horns together ....
<i>gu(d)-dim ur-bi-ta im</i> ....	like a bull, together ..

<sup>1</sup> REC. 316, sign of prayer. Cf. No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Sag-bal-e: sarru*, Br. 3538. Gud. Cyl. A, XIX, 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Aḫāzu, sanāqu*. Cf. CT. X, 10, Ob. I, 4. CT. VII, 2, Col. II, 9. Gud. Cyl. A, XII, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *A-maš dū-a*, Gud. Cyl. B, XV, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Šaqāšu*, Br. 8080.

<sup>6</sup> *Mušēlu*, pitū.

<i>udu munšub-ba(? or pi?) im-bi-a</i> ....	a hairy sheep ...
<i>ur-mah(?)</i> ....	a lion ....
<i>ud-bi</i> .... <i>e zi-ir gù-mu-na-de-e</i>	the day when .... for the fence, was claimed,
..... <i>zi lù na-ba-hu(?) nu-a</i>	..... the fence, the .....
..... <i>pa</i>	
..... <i>ba-bád-da</i>	..... had been raised,
..... <i>bar-si(g)-aš-ta-è-a ba-ta-ne-in-</i>	..... issuing from the covert, reaching
..... <i>uš-sa</i>	outside
<i>gi</i> ..... <i>rim gi-urá-da nu-gub-bu</i>	the fence(?)... reed of protection
<i>gi</i> ..... <i>gi-šu-ha-ne ha-e pad<sup>1</sup>-pad-du</i>	not standing up,
..... <i>mu i e igi-šú</i>	the fence(?) ... reeds the fishers, offer
<i>gi</i> ..... <i>gub-ba ga-mu-ra-ab-dú(g)</i>	the fishes on, ... for 1 year before,
	the fence(?) .... standing, I will order
	for thee,
<i>urudu nig-kalag-ga<sup>2</sup></i> .... <i>sag-gà mu-um-</i>	hard bronze ..... at the head shall
..... <i>ma-da-ab-ri(g)</i>	be placed,
<i>giš-erin giš za-ba-lum,<sup>3</sup></i> ... [ <i>giš-šur-</i> ]	cedar-wood, zabalum ... cypress-
..... <i>man, giš-ku<sup>4</sup></i>	wood, box-wood
<i>giš-dan giš-dup-ti-a</i> ... <i>šú(?) ha<sup>7</sup>-</i>	<i>ušu<sup>5</sup>-wood, pine<sup>6</sup>(?)</i> -wood, ...
..... <i>ba</i> .... <i>lum</i>	
<i>giš-a-am, giš dìm-du(g)-ta he-im-ma-</i>	<i>ildaggu<sup>8</sup>-wood, from good plant,<sup>9</sup> shall</i>
..... <i>da-ab-túm</i>	be brought
..... <i>sag-gà-ka he-ne-suh-suh<sup>10</sup></i>	..... of its head, shall be made
	splendid
<i>ud-dé he-ne-ba-dím (?)</i>	..... shall be made like day.
..... <i>sig-gi gab nig-tuk<sup>11</sup>-ki-na-ta</i>	..... underneath in front of his form,
<i>giš-eme sar-šú-in-gub-ta he-im-ta-gub</i>	on pegs put for fastening, he shall
	stand,

<sup>1</sup> *Kusapî.*<sup>2</sup> *Êrû dannu*, Br. 12088, 12089.<sup>3</sup> Gudea, St. B, V, 55; Cyl. A, XV, 30. Mounts of Zabalum. Together with *giš-ù-ku*, *giš tu-lu-bu-um*. *Za-ba-lam: suḫalu*, CT. XVII, 38, l. 39. MEISSNER, MVAG. 1904, No. 3, p. 34, ann. 2. (SAK. p. 70, a); along with: *ašubū* and plane-tree.<sup>4</sup> *Urkarînu.*<sup>5</sup> Ebony-wood, terebinth?<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Duprânu, burâšû, buḫnu*. *Ina eli tupat burâši.*<sup>7</sup> *Hašuru?*<sup>8</sup> Or *Adâru*, Br. 11486, 11487.<sup>9</sup> Of good growth.<sup>10</sup> *Zîmu*, or *nasâḫu?*<sup>11</sup> *Mêšrû*, Br. 12177.

úḫ (?) pu-ub<sup>1</sup> súḫ-a ḫikum-ma dú(g)-  
dú(g) am-dím ḫe-im-mi-šù

the beast disturbing the deep well,  
muttering in the abyss, like a bull  
he shall cover,

urū-bi buḫru + sar(?) -ba ḫe-im-ta-  
gu(d)-ud

its foundation, out of the secret abyss  
shall be reared.

## REVERSE

giš-al-e sa-ḫe-ne-sí(g) giš dusu ḫag ḫe-  
mi-lal-lal

Spade shall spread net-like, corb shall  
reach the limit.

Dun-gi-ri gá-šú(?) ḫu-mu-na-dū  
gà-nun ḫu-mu-na-gub

For Dungi the abode . . . I will build,  
the great store I will rear,

giš-gu-ḫa edin(?) -te(g) -é-a dú(g) -ga-e  
ḫu-mu-na-ni-gub.

the throne foundation of the plain,  
placed in the temple, I will rear  
there to him

gú-ne-sag-gá<sup>2</sup> ḫul é-a

the protection(?) against evil in the  
temple

din-làl gú-e ḫe-im-ma-gub

pot of date wine and honey, I will set  
up.

ma(?) -ḫa-lum<sup>3</sup> e suḫur<sup>4</sup> ḫe-im-ma-  
šù-šù

the . . . , shall have the covering  
spread upon

bád-ne ḫa-ba-giš-gi<sup>5</sup> -šú lagab(?) ḫu-  
mu-un-na-si(g) -si(g)

the walls(?) shall face(?) one another,  
the enclosure I will complete<sup>6</sup>

giš-pú<sup>7</sup> ḫar-ra(?) . . . na ḫu-mu-un-  
na-mă-mă

the well, dug-out . . . I will rear up  
for him,

giš-má . . . ka-ni šu(?) dím(?) suḫur  
ḫu-mu-na-dū-dū

the boat . . . I will build him a  
cover,

šú-dím . . . šá(g) ga mu-nigin

the . . . with date-palm(?) I  
shall surround,

sal-sil tur . . . si-g-am ḫe-im-mi-ib-è

Young ewes, young . . . I will let go  
out,

Dun-gi ḫu-mu-un-si(g) -si(g)  
giš-gi bar-rim<sup>8</sup> -ma si(g) -ga-ḫa

Dungi shall have them plentiful  
a wall full of . . . art thou,

<sup>1</sup> Temen(?).

<sup>2</sup> Kadādu, kanāšū?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ma-ša-lum, RTC. 304: a bronze object.

<sup>4</sup> Kimmatu.

<sup>5</sup> Or nigin? Cf. giš-giš: šapiltu ša qibili: answer, reply.

<sup>6</sup> Malū, lamū, šapāku.

<sup>7</sup> Giš-pu, RA. IV, 24, text III; RTC. 197, f. 8; Gud. Cyl. B, XVI, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Or maškim?





<i>giš-gi giš-dan-na</i> ... <i>zi(?)</i> -gum	cane, ušu wood, ...	were cut to
<i>ba-an-sur-sur</i>	pieces ...	
<i>guškin-bi mi-ni</i> .... <i>ne-in-ag</i>	its gold ...	.... were made
<i>guškin-bi su-ú-ba<sup>1</sup> ne-in-ag</i>	its gold was melted,	
<i>urudu[-bi] .. maḥ</i> ... <i>kâr-ra</i>	its copper ...	
<i>ne-in</i> ...		
<i>aṣag-bi</i> .. . . . <i>dim-e</i>	its silver ...	
<i>an(?)</i> -bi. <i>za-ma</i> .. <i>dim-e</i>	.....	
.....	.....	

## No. 44. CBS. 15207

Liturgy of the god Pa-gibilsag, with reference to Enlil, Ninlil(?), Nippur and Isin. Pagibil-sag was later identified with Išum a god of fire and pestilence, an intendant of Nergal, the great leader and high commissary of the gods. In the days of old he was called the leader of the land (nimgir kalam-ma).<sup>2</sup> Eannatum was a diviner<sup>3</sup> of the same god. Priests (*sangu*)<sup>4</sup> of Pasag are named along with priests of Ninsun and Nindar. His temple in Lagaš<sup>5</sup> was ranking next to the temple of Ningirsu, *é šabru*, *é bagá* and *é bārbar*. Fields and flocks were attached to it, and were attended to by a regular board<sup>6</sup> or staff. His present temple is in Larak.<sup>7</sup>

## COLUMN I

<i>am ūr-ra-ám dar-a é-a-ni ka-ni</i>	like the crouching bull the chequered one of his temple,
<i>lugal-mu am-ūr-ra-ám dar-a é-a-[]</i>	my king is like the crouching bull the chequered one of his temple ..
<sup>a</sup> <i>Pa-gibil-sag am-ūr-ra-ám dar-a é-a-ni</i> [ Pa-gibil-sag is like, etc.	

<sup>1</sup> *Su-ub: mašāšu*, Br. 203. Cf. *kemaššu*.<sup>2</sup> Gud. St. B, VIII, 63-64.<sup>3</sup> *Iskim*, SAK. p. 22, stone B, II, 13.<sup>4</sup> RTC. 264.<sup>5</sup> *É<sup>a</sup>pa-giš-bi(l)-sag*, REISNER, *Tellob*, No. 26, XI, 9, XIV, 20.<sup>6</sup> *É<sup>a</sup>pa-sag* had 1 *ukuš sangu*, 2 *nuban(da)-gu(d)*, 1 *šes tabba*, 4 *engar*, 12 *gu(d)-da-ri-a*, 1 *pa erin-na maškim*, 3 *erin*, 4 *ù-il*, MIO. *Tello*, No. 865.<sup>7</sup> *É<sup>a</sup>pa-ne-sag*, *umun Larak*, ST. LANGDON, 5th tab., r. 12 in SBP. p. 160, n. 4, 7. *E aš-te*, *é-aš-tu*, temple of Larak, *ibid.*, p. 133, n. 4; p. 265. *Bit-sála-laraki*, Sanh. V, 35 (Del. Paradise, p. 202, 5; p. 224). According to Berosos, Xisuthros was born in Λαπαρχα.



<i>é-damal-la é-ni-si-in<sup>ki</sup> na-ka . . ni</i>	her large temple of Nisin, she . . .
<i>mi-ni-ib . . .</i>	
<i>sìg-lum-ma<sup>1</sup>-bi nam-ma-an . . .</i>	the wool . . . . she does not . . . .
<i>dar-bi-ám šu-gà-ri šu-gà-ri . . . .</i>	being variegated, the perfect work . . .
.....	.....

## No. 45. CBS. 2268 + 2277

Sumerian historical records. Enlil, Ê-an-na, the land of Sumer and Akkad, the river of Kutha and Sippar, the Gutium enemies, the valiant hero of Sumer; perhaps the mention of a king may still be read in the much-damaged text.

## No. 46. CBS. 7848

Fragment of a historical prism. Seems to refer to letter or order (*ù-na-dú(g)*) of King Libit-ištar of Isin, and some expedition (*kas-ligir ta im-gi*). The 1st and 2nd *li-mu-um* are hardly identical with Assyrian eponymates, but they seem to have some connection with periods of time (*bal*).

## No. 47. CBS. 7820 + 7830

Fragment of a historical prism. Perhaps a record of the building activity of King Naram-Sin, *ša(g)-ga Nibru ki . . . , lù da . . . , mu é-kur-ra . . . .*

## No. 48. CBS. 7849

Fragment of an octagonal prism. The text, among several historical records preserved a version of the building and rebuilding of the Tummal of Ninlil.<sup>2</sup> The shrine of the goddess at Nippur was founded in the early days of <sup>d</sup>Giš-bil-ga-mes. The Drehem<sup>3</sup> tablets give details of food, scented or precious woods, sacrifice animals sent as offerings to Tummal. Ubâ patesi of Adamdun had a bow placed in it as a votive offering.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *tùg-lum-za*.

<sup>2</sup> A. POEBEL, PBS. V, No. 6, 7; IV, 1 p. 143-147.

<sup>3</sup> *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, No. 4, 303, 306, 384.

Among interesting items in lists of account of Ahuni in Tummal, we note a bronze bed with a mattress of good wool for Allašarrum the nurse of Me-kadi the king's daughter. The shrine was the proper asylum of young princesses.

## COLUMN II

<sup>1</sup> <i>Dub<sup>1</sup>-ki-ág<sup>a</sup> nanna(r)</i>	Dubkiag-Nannar
<i>dumu Na-an-ni ge</i>	son of Nanni,
<i>Tùm-má-al<sup>ki</sup> si pa-ne-da-è</i>	let shine the horn <sup>2</sup> (exalted) of Tummal
<i><sup>a</sup>Nin-lil Tùm-má-al<sup>ki</sup> šú in-túm<sup>3</sup></i>	Ninlil into Tummal was brought up,
<i>a-du 4 kam Tùm-má-al<sup>ki</sup> ba-šub</i>	A fourth time Tummal was ruined.
<sup>1</sup> <i>Ur [<sup>a</sup>Engur-ge é-kur] in-dū</i>	Ur-Engur built the temple ékur,
<i>Dun-[gi dumu Ur<sup>a</sup>Engur]-ge</i>	Dungi son of Ur-Engur,
<i>Tùm-má-al<sup>ki</sup> si pa-ne-da-è</i>	let shine the horn of Tummal,
<i><sup>a</sup>Nin-lil [Tùm-má]-al<sup>ki</sup> šú in-túm</i>	Nin-lil into Tummal was brought up.
<i>[a-du 5]kam Tùm-má-al<sup>ki</sup> ba-šub.</i>	A fifth time Tummal was ruined.
<i>[... <sup>a</sup>I-bi] <sup>a</sup>Sin ka-ta</i>	By... of Ibi-Sin,
<i>[en-na <sup>a</sup>I-bi] <sup>a</sup>Sin lugal-e</i>	when King Ibi-Sin,
<i>[en-am]-gal-an-na en-<sup>a</sup>Ninni</i>	was elected by oracles as priest <sup>4</sup> of the
<i>[unú]<sup>ki</sup> ga máš-e in-pa(d)-dé</i>	temple: "the great heavenly bull,"
	priest of Innana at Uruk
<i>[<sup>a</sup>Nin-]lil Tùm-má-al<sup>ki</sup> šú</i>	Ninlil into Tummal,
<i>[ ]-gin-ne-en</i>	they brought up.
<i>[<sup>a</sup>Iš-bi]-ir-ra é-kur-igi-gál</i>	Išbi-irra built: Ekur-igi-gal
<i>[é-gi-na]-ab-dú<sup>5</sup></i>	the šutummu
<i>[<sup>a</sup>En-lil-lá] in-[dū]</i>	of Enlil
.....	.....

## COLUMN III

<i>pa-te-si sag-il [ ...</i>	the patesi raising the head ....
<i>é(?) <sup>a</sup>En-lil-lá ...</i>	the temple of Enlil ...
<i>pa a-dan(?) ha... ib-tum</i>	the canal, the flood ... has carried(?)

<sup>1</sup> Or šid?<sup>2</sup> *Sí-ba-mul-mul*, Gud. Cyl. A, XXIV, 22.<sup>3</sup> Or *gin*: entered. Cf. l. 16: *gin-ne-en*.<sup>4</sup> The 2nd year of Ibi-Sin.<sup>5</sup> Same "granary" built in Ur by Enannatum son of Išme-Dagan, SAK. p. 206, b). Great store for furniture: 37 *giš gu-za* .. *ša(g) É-gi-na-tum*, REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 83, Vs. 9, 11.

! <sup>d</sup> En-lil-dingir-mu ù Ha-an-za-mu mu-si-g-gi-eš mu-da-kar-ri-eš	Enlil-dingirmu and Hanzamu, have stamped, have banked up,
! Lugal-an-ni(?) na-ab-bi-a mà-e pà 1 àm za-e pà 1 àm pa-te-si pà 1 àm a be-mu-e ka-ne-in-dû(g)-ta	Lugal . . . . ordering 1 canal for me 1 canal for thee 1 canal for the patesi on the word they have said: the water be mine there shall be no restriction the workmen of their (?) river, the canal . . .
nu-mu-un-dim <sup>1</sup> -gi-es erin id-zu-nu-ma pà-gub [ mà-e ba-a-bi-a-ma [ à ma-tur 5-ù [ bu-mu-ši-in [ a-ma-ru [ Lugal-išib ù-na [ pa-te-si [ra (?) ]	as for me, I will order . . a strength of 5 small . . may I . . . the storm . . . Lugal išib (?) has . . to (?) the patesi . .

## No. 49. CBS. 13967

Praise of King Libit-ištar. Fragment of a three(?) column tablet.

## COLUMN I

<sup>d</sup> Li-bi-it-ištar lugal sag-il nun bara-ga be-dû giš-isimu <sup>2</sup> nam-lugal-la <sup>d</sup> Utu-dim-gin še-ir-zi <sup>3</sup> kalam-ma nam-nun dūr-maḥ <sup>4</sup> [ ]-gal-la . . . [ ] da [ [ ] ki gar-ra [	King Libit-ištar the exalted prince of all shrines, ornament of the stem of royalty, like Šamaš thou goest splendor of the land, nobility of great houses ... ... ...
--	--

## COLUMN II

en-dun [ an ni-ki [	noble lord . . . .....
------------------------	---------------------------

<sup>1</sup> Or du(g)? Dim: sanāgu.

<sup>2</sup> Zigu, Br. 8968.

<sup>3</sup> Šarūru.

<sup>4</sup> Šarru, durmaḥu, Br. 10576-7.

<i>iti-ti</i> [	help ...
<i>ama-an</i> [	mother ..
<sup>a</sup> <i>Li</i> [	Li[bit-ištar.
.....	.....

## COLUMN III

<i>ne</i> -[	.....
<i>diri</i> ( <i>g</i> ) [	more ....
<sup>a</sup> <i>Li</i> -[ <i>bi-it ištār</i>	Libit ištār ..
<i>dumu</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>En</i> -[	son of En..
<i>nig-gi-na</i> [	justice ...
<i>inim-inim-mi-ni</i>	his words ...

## No. 50. CBS. 14176

Fragment of Sumerian literary text of dubious meaning. The superintendent (*maškim*) and the priest of lamentations (*gala*), are mentioned together with statues (*alan*), temple (*é*), walls (*bád*), boats for grain (*má-še*). The whole seems to be a record of rules and regulations.

## No. 51. CBS. 8242

Fragment of historical inscription(?). List of gods, part of an official litany:

[	]	<sup>a</sup> <i>Nusku</i> [	<i>me-en</i> ]	....	Nusku art thou,
[	]	<sup>a</sup> <i>nu-túg-nir-ra</i>	<i>me-[en</i> ]	....	Nutugnirra art thou,
[	]	<i>nibru<sup>ki</sup></i>	<i>me-[en</i> ]	....	of Nippur art thou,
[	]	<i>šig é-kur-ka</i>	<i>me-[en</i> ]	....	bricks of Ekur art thou,
[	]	<i>ur<sup>ki</sup> ma</i>	<i>me-[en</i> ]	....	in Ur art thou,
[	]	<sup>a</sup> <i>En-lil-li</i>	[ ]	....	Enlil,
[	]	<i>e šú mu-su(d)</i>	[ ]	....	for.. has removed afar,
[	]	<i>kalam(?) sá-a</i>	<i>me[en</i> ]	....	ruling the land art thou,
[	]	<sup>a</sup> <i>En-lil-da</i>	[ ]	....	along with Enlil,
[	]	<i>En-lil-lá</i>	<i>me[en</i> ]	....	of Enlil art thou.

*Nu-túg-nirra*: "the prince invested with splendor" or "the prince of the shining weapon" is probably an epithet of Nin-uraš.

<sup>1</sup> *Gibtu, tukultu*, Br. 9433-4.



CBC. 4563<sup>1</sup> has a <sup>d</sup>Nu-nam-nir. *Nam-nir-ra* means: nobility (*etellutu*), *giš-túg-nir*: the great weapon (*kakku*). The god simply called <sup>d</sup>Nu-nir, is no other than Ninuraš ša mihri,<sup>2</sup> the god of fight and storm. The element *túg* may be dispensed with as we learn from the name of <sup>d</sup>Nu-muš-da<sup>3</sup> or <sup>d</sup>Nu-túg-muš-da,<sup>4</sup> the god of Kazallu,<sup>5</sup> a serpent god<sup>6</sup>(?).

No. 52. CBS. 14190

A contract for partnership (*tab-ba*), dated on the month of Tašritu, on the 18th year that followed the capture of Isin by Rim-Sin:

<i>il</i> [	Il ...
<i>ki U-bar</i> <sup>1</sup> [ <i>Šamaš</i> ]	with Ubar-Šamaš,
<i>nig-ga</i>	the property
<i>a-na-me-a</i> [ <i>ri</i> (?) ]	all he has ..
<i>tab-ba</i>	shall be in partnership.

The round circle or mark on the tablet may be a substitute of the seal.<sup>7</sup>

No. 53. CBS. 14184

A lease for land on the 5th year after the capture of Isin.

<i>Gan</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>Šin-ta-a-a-ar</i>	The field of Sin-tajar,
<sup>1</sup> <i>I-lī-a-pi-li-im</i>	Iliawilim,
<i>nam-bi-an-ma</i> <sup>8</sup> <i>Šu-ub-ta-an-è</i>	under year term, holds it by lease.
<i>Ka-šer mu</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>kam</i>	The rent for 1 year
<i>igi</i> 4 <i>gál</i> 5 <i>še kù babbar</i>	shall be $\frac{1}{4}$ shekel + 5 grains of silver,
<i>ša(g)-ga ne-ib-du(g)-ga</i>	being satisfied at heart.
<i>en-na-an-šú</i>	Up to that day,
<i>gan-bi ni-gà</i>	he shall cultivate the field
<i>apin-bi ni-gà</i>	and irrigate it.

<sup>1</sup> PBS. X, 2, No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Br. 1997.

<sup>3</sup> CBS. 4577 (LANGDON, PBS. X, 2.).

<sup>4</sup> OBI. 125, obv. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. No. 3: Baša-<sup>d</sup>Nu-muš-da, patesi of Kazallu.

<sup>6</sup> <sup>d</sup>Siru. Serpent god on seal cylinders: DE CLERCQ, Cat. No. 141.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. T. CLAY: *Seals and Their Substitutes*, BE. XIV. pp. 12-13: *sisiktu*.

<sup>8</sup> *Šattu*, Br. 2186. Cf. *Mu-an-na*.



## No. 54. CBS. 14178

Receipt for 4 shekels of silver borrowed for six months at a rate of 20 per 100 interest. The document is dated on October, and the money shall be repaid on May of the following year. Four witnesses and two seal impressions. The seals may have belonged to Sinnutum and Burmama, the two parties to the contract. One is drawn in full and shows the fight of Gilgames with bulls, lions and a devouring dragon. Small figures of a crouching lion, turtle, fly, human head, etc., fill the vacant space. A short inscription devotes it to Šamaš. The next seal pressed on the edge of the tablet shows a figure of the god Martu, with short garment, turban and mace.

The date formula commemorates the occupation of Dur Damiq-ilišu by Rim-Sin. The overthrow of Isin is a much controverted question.<sup>1</sup> The longer formula as published by Thureau-Dangin<sup>2</sup> says that Rim-Sin captured :“the city of Damiq-ilišu and the people of Isin.” More than 30 years of Rim-Sin’s reign were dated from that event.

4 gín kù-babbar  
 máš 10 gín 2 gín ta-ám  
 daḥ-ḫi-dam  
 ki <sup>11</sup>Sin-nu-tum ta  
 1 Bûr<sup>11</sup> Ma-ma  
 šu-ba-an-ti  
 Iti šig-a ka  
 sum-mu-dam  
 igi <sup>11</sup>Šamaš <sup>11</sup>En-lil-lá  
 igi Im-gu-tum  
 igi <sup>11</sup>Sin-ma-gir  
 igi Ilu-ma-an-sum  
 Iti giš-apin-gab-e  
 mu <sup>11</sup>Ri-im <sup>11</sup>Sin lugal-e  
 Bád <sup>11</sup>Da-mi-iq-i-lì-[šù]  
 mu-un-da-dúr

4 shekels of silver.  
 Interest for every 10 shekels, 2 shekels  
 shall be added.  
 From Sinnutum,  
 Bur-Mama,  
 has received it.  
 On the month of Simanu  
 It shall be paid.  
 Witness: Šamaš-Enlilla,  
 Imgutum,  
 Sinmagir,  
 Ilumansum,  
 Month of Waraḥ-samna,  
 Year in which King Rim-Sin  
 occupied the city of  
 Damiq-ilišu.

<sup>1</sup> Full study by A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, pp. 35-40.

<sup>2</sup> RA. VIII, 81.



150 še ta-ám itu 8 kam	150 (qa) of barley each one of the 8 months
ša iš-tu Larsam <sup>ki</sup> il-li-kam	when he left Larsam,
ad-di-nu-šum	I gave unto him.
šu-ti-a Nu-úr <sup>a</sup> da.. ta(?)	Receipts from Nûr .....
1 šubatu 5 šiqlu kaspi nu-ka-aḫ-di ...	1 garment, 6 silver shekels of Nukazdi ..
½ šiqlu kaspi E-ḫi giš-ma-nu-uk ..	½ silver shekel of Ehigišmanuk ..
ša be-li-su-nu i-na pu-su ..	which their masters as guaranty
id-di-nu-šum.	have given him.

## No. 56. CBS. 34

Fragment of a list of accounts. Mercenaries sent (?) to Sippar to work on granaries and lodging there. The date is the 5th year of Ammiditana.

## OBSERVE

[ A(?) ]-bi-ti agruti ka-ri(?) -um	List(?) <sup>1</sup> of mercenaries for granaries
[ ] ša i-na Sippar <sup>ki</sup> wa-aš-bu	who are lodged in Sippar.
[ 1 ] <sup>12</sup> Adad-šar-rum mar Na-ab-lu-nim-ilu	Adadšarrum son of Nablunim-ilu
[ 1 ] I-bi <sup>12</sup> Šamaš mar Ia-aḫ-ri-ḫu	Ibi-Šamaš son of Iaḫriḫu
[ 1 ] 2 gín pa Ni-id-nu-um(?)	2 shekels(?), clerk Nidnum,
[ 1 ] Ka-bi-e-ra-aḫ	Kabierah,
[ ] 2 gín pa Ka-bi-e-ra-aḫ ....	2 shekels(?) clerk Kabierah
[ ] -ti Ka-ši-e mar I-ba-[ ]	... ti-Kaši son of Iba...
[ ] pa Mu-ti a-ra-mu	... clerk Muti-aramu
[ ] šab-ta kaspa im-ḫu-ru	... of the workmen(?) have received the money.
[ ] -ši-dam la il-li-[ ]	.... have not gone(?)..
.....	.....

## REVERSE

[ ] šab-ta e-ne(?) ud il-li [ ]	... of the workmen when ....
[ ] a-na agruti .....	[ ] ... to the mercenaries
[ ] -la-ba šu-ba-ti(?) [ ]	[ ] ..... received.
40 agruti .....	40 mercenaries .....

<sup>1</sup> *Abitu*: decision. *Ebitu*: dwelling.

## No. 57. CBS. 469

Fragment of a clay cone in shape of a nail. Restoration of the temple E-babbar of Sippar, at the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon, probably the 18th year of Samsu-iluna.

## COLUMN I

.....  
 En [  
<sup>d</sup>[  
 mu-un-na-[  
   bar-ra [  
 Zimbir [<sup>ki</sup>] ]  
 uru-bi-ta ki-šu-gi [ ]  
 bād-bi ni-libir [ ]  
   é babbar-ra  
 ki-bi šú-gi-gi-de  
 ū-nir gi-unū-na  
   maḥ-a-ni  
 sag-bi an-dim  
   il-i-de  
<sup>d</sup>Babbar <sup>d</sup>Šú-nir-da-ir  
 ki-dúr azag-ne-ne-a  
 bād nig-ḫul-ḫul-la-bi-šú  
   tu(r)-tu(r)-de  
 ka-gar <sup>d</sup>Babbar(?) ma-da-na  
 ne-in-dú(g)-ga-a  
 ud-bi-a  
 ur-sag dun <sup>d</sup>Babbar  
 nam-gal <sup>d</sup>En-ṣu-ge  
 Zimbir<sup>ki</sup> é babbar-ra  
 mu-ni-in-tar-ra [ ]  
 ḫul-la-dim  
 gūr(?) ma-na-ni [ ]  
 é-ne-in [ ]  
 .....

.....  
 the lord ...  
 the divine ...  
 had ...  
 away ...  
 in Sippar ..  
 in the city, he restored,  
 its wall had decayed,  
 the temple Ebabbar,  
 in order to restore;  
 his august ziggurat  
 where he has his shrine,  
 in order to raise  
 its head unto heaven;  
 for Šamaš and Aa,  
 in their magnificent abode,  
 in order to lead them within the walls  
   where they rejoice,  
 where the message of Šamaš are  
 conveyed to his land;  
 in that day, when  
 the valiant hero Šamaš  
 the great dignity of Sin(?) or Enlil)  
 at Sippar in Ebabbar,  
 partook,  
 in sign of rejoicing  
 were sent(?) ...  
 the temple ....  
 .....

## COLUMN II

dumu(?) lugal? [  
 kur gú [  
 .....

sag-il [  
 nig-ud-dú [  
 lum-e [  
 ba-dím [  
 lugal [  
 .....

## No. 58. CBS. 8288

Semitic letter. Time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.

<i>A-na Lù-ga-a</i>	To Lugâ
<i>ki-bi-ma</i>	speak:
<i>um-ma Šumi-i-lì-šu . .</i>	So says Šumi-ilišu
<i>En-lil ù Nin-lil</i>	May Enlil and Ninlil
<i>li-ba-al-li-tu-ka</i>	grant thee life.
<i>60 karpat šamni<sup>1</sup> a-ša-ri-da</i>	60 pots of first quality oil(?)
<i>a-na Babil<sup>ki</sup> i-sakipir . . . (?)</i>	to Babylon have been . . .
<i>ši-pu<sup>2</sup> i-š-šu [ri?] i-na Nibru<sup>ki</sup></i>	nets(?) or birds(?) in Nippur,
<i>šu-bi-i-ma [                      ] i-ka-al</i>	send and . . . he shall be able(?)
<i>i-bi za-at [                      ] it-ta-ad(?) [</i>	command . . . he shall give(?)

## No. 59. CBS. 14212

A date formula perhaps of 26th year of Hammurabi or 26th of Samsuiluna:

*mu dag gir-ka-gal-la ba-túm.*

Year when the stone: "sword of great command" was brought up.

## No. 60. CBS. 8359

List of gods and their votive offerings or personal emblems?.

[                      ]	<sup>1</sup> <i>Nusku</i>	..... to Nusku
[                      ]	<sup>2</sup> <i>Ea</i>	..... to Ea
[                      ]	<sup>3</sup> <i>Nin-uraš</i>	..... to Ninib
<i>gu(d) udu</i>	<sup>4</sup> <i>Pa-gibil-sag</i>	bull, sheep to Pagibilsag
<i>gu(d) si-g-šu(?)<sup>3</sup></i>	<sup>4</sup> <i>Ezīnu.</i>	bull, twisted wool(?) to Ašnan.

<sup>1</sup> Or *karānu*: wine; *kurunnu*: sesame-wine.

<sup>2</sup> *Šīpu*: matting (or squeeze, mould?). *Šibu*: to catch. *Sipū ša iššuri*, SAL. 7685.

<sup>3</sup> Or *sal-dš-gar*?

<i>udu-gal</i>	<sup>d</sup> <i>Dun-šá(g)-ga</i>	ram	to Dun šagga
<i>šigbabbar kíd babbar</i>	<sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-me-tag</i> <sup>1</sup>	white wool, white linen	to Nin-metag
<i>gu(d)-úr<sup>2</sup> gu(d)</i>	<sup>d</sup> <i>Babbar</i>	bull from park(?), bull,	to Babbar,
<i>amar amar-ur</i>	<sup>d</sup> <i>Nanna(r)</i>	young dogs	to Nanna(r)
<i>gi(?)</i> <sup>3</sup>	<sup>d</sup> <i>Innina</i>	cane reed(?)	to Innina
<i>dub aṣag</i>	<sup>d</sup> <i>Nidaba</i>	metal tablet	to Nidaba
<i>dalla(?) kú(?) gā<sup>4</sup></i>	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šu-par-gam-si(?)</i>	a ...	to Šupargam si <sup>5</sup>
[ ]	<sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-bar-aṣag-ga</i> ,	.....	to Ninbarazag
[ ]	<sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-ka-si</i>	.....	to Ninkasi <sup>6</sup>
[ ]	<sup>d</sup> <i>Immer</i> .	.....	to Immer.

## No. 61. CBS. 14217

Ruling of the yearly supply of food and drink offering in the temple of Nusku (?) at Nippur (?) by order of King Hammurabi in the 35th year of his reign. Regular morning and evening sacrifices seem to be provided for, as well as some special circumstances and feasts. In the 31st year of his reign Hammurabi most probably conquered South Babylonia down to Larsa and Ur, and drove Rim-Sin away. Restoration and endowment of temples was part of the traditional politics. By so doing, the legitimate king secured the protection of the god and confirmed his power. The last column gave a list of priests and officials of the temple, with an account of their daily allowance.

## COLUMN I

<i>Dub šuku(m) šu-gi-[na<sup>7</sup> ]</i>	Tablet of the regular meat (offerings)
<i>ša é<sup>d</sup> [Nusku(?) ]</i>	of the temple of Nusku(?)
<i>ša(g) mu 1 kam<sup>8</sup></i>	within 1 year,
<i>ša šarru ú-ki-in-nu</i>	which the king has established,
<i>araḥ Simanu um 20 kam</i>	the 20th of Simanu,

<sup>1</sup> *Nun-me-tag*: gašam, abkallu.<sup>2</sup> *Me-ninnū?*<sup>3</sup> Or *Šal-sil*: she-lamb.<sup>4</sup> Or: *gun-nag-gā*, libation vase.<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Umun-sa-par*, Br. 8805.<sup>6</sup> Cf. LANGDON, PBS. X, 2, No. 9, p. 143.<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Udu Šu-gi-na*, AO. 5478 (RA. VIII, p. 82); CT. IV, 31<sup>b</sup>. Offering for the time of the new-moon, the full-moon, the end of the month.<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ana šattuk umim 1, ana paššur* "Šamaš, Urumuš, d), SAK. p. 162.







## COLUMN III

1 bur [-gi ..  
 1 ha sīg [..  
 12 bur-gi .. [  
 2½ qa kaš [  
 šuku(m) ud te-na [  
 2 munšub udu [  
 1 qa gar zid g-[um  
 1 gam gar-iá[-de-a  
 2 [  
 .....  
 .....

1 pot of ..  
 1 fine fish ..  
 12 pots of ..  
 2½ qa of drink ...  
 food for the twilight ..  
 2 sheep skins  
 1 qa of food, pounded flour,  
 1 gam of food besmeared with oil ...  
 2 [  
 .....  
 .....

## COLUMN V

88½ qa [  
 118 qa [  
 2 (gur) 218 ga ga  
 šuku(m) šu-gi-na mu 2 kam  
 iš-tu 6 udu  
 3 (gur) 84½ ga 4 gín  
 1½ qa ka-lum 3 qa ka-lum ni(?) -tuk  
 5 qa 9 gín iá-nun  
 5½ qa iá-giš  
 5/6 qa 4 gín ga-ḥar  
 5/6 qa 4 gín lugal-è-a  
 ½ qa ma+gunu [ ]  
 .....

88½ qa ..  
 118 qa ..  
 2 gur 218 qa of fat (cheese?)  
 regular food for 2 months  
 moreover 6 sheep:  
 3 gur 84½ qa 4 gín,  
 1½ qa of dates, 3 qa of dates ....  
 5 qa 9 gín of butter,  
 5½ qa of sesame oil  
 59 gín of pressed(?) cheese.  
 59 gín, when the king goes out  
 ½ qa of ma+gunu ...  
 .....

## COLUMN VI

]-nar-sa  
 [3 qa ? ]-3 bur-gi  
 6 nin-dingir  
 1 qa 1 bur-gi  
 1 qa kaš dumu-sal  
 lu-dingir-ra

..... the singers ...  
 3 qa 3 pots ..  
 6 priestesses.  
 1 qa 1 pot  
 1 qa of drink to the daughter  
 of the priest.

The sheep skin (šartu: munšub) as part of the regular offerings helps toward a better understanding of two difficult terms

in the Drehem texts: *mu-du-lum* and *taḥ+suḥur-tu*.<sup>1</sup> The Yale syllabary<sup>2</sup> knows several signs composed with: wool, *sig*.

1. *sìg+lam*, No. 182-185: *bakû* (*še*); *pašâšû* (*šeš*); *šikinnu* (*šikin*); *mudulu*, *kirêtu* (*adkin*).

2. *sìg+lam+suḥur*, No. 186-187: *ittutti* (*aš*); *šartu* (*mim-šub*).

The second sign is identical to *taḥ+suḥur* of the Drehem tablet. *Tu* is a phonetic complement, inviting to a reading *šartu* or *ittutu*: skin, and presage. It is interesting to find fleece and omina so closely connected. We had already noted how the sign resembles the sign for presage (*uṣu*: *purussu*) in the code (XXVII, 27). The skin could be used as a leather bottle for libation (*taḥ+suḥur a-bal*).

The term *mu-du-lum* is no other than the 1st sign (No. 185) of the Yale Syllabary. It is explained by the word *kirêtu*; a feast, a banquet, which gives a very good sense in all the texts where we find it.

No. 62. CBS. 14236

Enigmatic little fragment. List of names of the Cassite period, which look like a list of years.

*mu* 1 *Immeru be-li-ta-din*  
*mu* *Lul-lu-ba-a-i dub-sar*  
*mu* *Aḫil 1 Zēr-ub-la*  
*mu* *Ma-la-ḫi-e*  
*mu* 1 *Í-lì-kil-la-an-ni*  
[*mu*] *Nu-bu-bi-i-a ša-a* ..

No. 63. CBS. 14124

Business document: A retiring man (*nig-šid til-la*) is handing over 1 gur 30 qa of grain (*še-gab*) to Damu-eribam (*in-tuk*), in presence of 2 witnesses. The date may be the 7th or 27th of King Samsu-iluma:

*mu nig bār-bār-ra gur-gur<sup>3</sup>-ra*

<sup>1</sup> *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> *Kamāru*, Br. 6111.

No. 64. CBS. 14198

Legal document. Selling members of the family and the slaves of Šamaš-daian, to cover his debts(?). The scene is at Nippur. The archivist Kidinnum Enlil takes an active part in it. We gain a fair estimate of the value of the human person, based on a gold standard.

based on a gold standard.

[                ] šes-a-ni 10 gín [guškin  
dim] ..... his brother for 10 gold gín

[                ] -bi šes-a-ni 10 gín [guš-  
kin-dim] ..... bi his brother for 10 gold gín

[                ] -bi dumu-a-ni 5 gín guš-  
kin-dim] ..... bi his son for 5 gold gín

[                gil]-sa dam-a-ni 5 gín guškin-  
dim] ... gilsa his wife for 5 gold gín

[                ] -ab-ki-ra-be dumu-sal-a-ni 5  
gín guškin-dim] ... abkirabe his daughter for 5 gold  
gín

[                ] "Sin-lu-ud-lul dumu-sal-a-ni  
5 gín guškin-dim] .. Sin-ludlul his daughter for 5 gold  
gín

[                ] Rag-gab "Sin-bal-ti dumu-sal-a-ni  
5 gín guškin-dim] Raggab Sinbalti his daughter for 5  
gold gín

7 ki-in-nu          ša "Šamaš-da-a-a-an      7 kinsfolk of Šamaš-daian

12 sag-geme-uru      2 ma-na 19 gín      12 female and male slaves for 2 manehs  
guškin-dim                                      19 gín gold

Pu-ut-ilidumu Sag<sup>a</sup>En-lil-li lu gal-ne-ne Put-ili son of Sag Enlil their creditor,

[                ] Ki-di-ni-nu-um<sup>a</sup>En-lil-li pi sà-n-  
dub-ba-a Nibru<sup>k</sup>-a      .... Kidinnum-Enlil archivist at  
Nippur

[                ] dumu<sup>a</sup>Nin-uraš-nādin-  
aḫē] ..... son of Ninib-nadin-aḫe

[                ] šam-til-la-bi-šu-ne-ne      ..... for their full price.

No. 65. CBS. 15120

Fragment of historical inscription(?).

OBVERSE

[	]bi-lal-a ki-aṣag-ga dū-a	.....	built in a splendid place
[	]ki-su-su-gar ù tu-ri gar-gar-a	.....	place of increase and sickness(?)....
[	]túr nig-nu-silig-gi	.....	court for all that is weak
[	]aNin-gà-gi-a¹ iskim-mab	.....	Nin-gagia great divineress
[	]aEn-lil-la	.....	of Enlil.

<sup>1</sup>*Gagûm*, cloister. Cf. *Atû* (*ni-gab*) *bâb ga-gi-im*, CT. II, 41, l. 9; IV, 49 b; VI, 44a, l. 10. H. RANKE, BE. VI, 1, p. 22. The *gagûm* of the priestess at Sippar discovered by SCHEIL.



## REVERSE

igi <sup>d</sup>En-lil ma-  
 igi A-at-ta-a [  
 igi A-pi-li-a bur-gul igi <sup>d</sup>En-lil-li [

Witness Enlil ma  
 Âttâ-Ninib  
 Aplia seal-cutter, Enlilli ...

No. 67. CBS. 14179

Legal document. Exchange (*bal*) of property, 3 acres against 4 and 3 silver shekels indemnity (*šu-ri-a: ramû*). The old field is acquired by the king, probably Hammurabi, in order to make a cemetery. The tablet is dated on Šabat of his 33rd year.

*Mu 3 gan a-ša(g) zag-ga ba-an-gub*

*sib-ta mu nam-uru-gal-šû*  
*nig Ilu-iddinam*  
*lugal-e šu Ilu-iddinam*

*ab-ta-è*  
*ana <sup>u</sup>Sin-iš-me-ni*  
*ù <sup>u</sup>Sin-e-ri-ba-am*  
*dumu-me Ib-ku-ištar šes-a-ni*  
*4 gan a-ša(g) gibil-là*  
*uš-a-du <sup>u</sup>Nanna(r)-a-a*  
*ù 3 gîn kù-babbar*  
*šu-ri-a-bi*  
*ana Ilu-iddinam-ra*  
*in-na-an-bal*  
*igi Ap-lum dumu <sup>u</sup>Sin-ligiš*  
*igi <sup>u</sup>Nin-uraš mu-ša-lim*  
*dumu Lù <sup>d</sup>Ba-û*  
*igi <sup>u</sup>Sin-ib-du-um*  
*dumu Na-bi <sup>u</sup>Sin*  
*igi I-bi <sup>u</sup>Šamaš uku-uš pa-te-si*

*dumu Im-gu-ru-um*  
*igi I-lì-ip-pa-al-ra*  
*dumu Ib-da-tum*  
*igi A-pi-il-ia bur-gul*  
*dumu Ur <sup>d</sup>Ba-û*

Concerning 3 acres of field "standing in front"

a pasture, to use as burying ground property of Ilu-iddinam, the king, from the hands of Ilu-iddinam,

has acquired.

To Sin-išmeni,  
 and Sin-eribam,  
 sons of Ibku-ištar, his brother,  
 4 acres of new field,  
 one side along Nannaraja  
 and 3 silver shekels  
 as cession price  
 to Ilu-iddinam  
 were given in exchange.

Witness Aplum son of Sin-ligiš,  
 Ninib-mušalim  
 son of Lu-Bau,  
 Sin-ibdum,  
 son of Nabi-Sin  
 Ibi-Šamaš head messenger of  
 the patesi  
 son of Imgurum  
 Ili-ippalza  
 son of Ibdatum.  
 Aplia the seal cutter  
 son of Ur-Bau.

Cassite letter.

[                                 ] mâr šarri(?)  
ù šum-ma li-sa-ak-ka ta-ak-na ..

ša ti-du-u-ki-ma aš-šu-um-ma  
salmi-(?)ia <sup>d</sup>Enlil <sup>d</sup>Nin-lil  
<sup>d</sup>Nin-uraš <sup>d</sup>... En-lil(?) <sup>d</sup>Nusku ..  
du-ub-ma šum-ma li-sa-aṭ-pi  
um-ma a-na ka-dan Sumeri  
šu-ṣi-im-ma  
sa-li-im-ka li-ib-ba-ša-šu-um-ma  
i-na dan-na-ti šu-ṣu ṣa-bat-ma  
i-na ša-li-im-ti li-il-li-ka-am-ma  
[                                 ]-ka a-na da-mi-iḡ-ti

. . . . . son of the king,  
 and when he will have pressed thee  
     well,  
 it shall mean battle,  
 my protection (?) Enlil, Ninlil,  
 Nin-ib . . . , Nusku,  
 be good, and when he prays  
 it is to conquer Sumer;  
 come out and  
 he shall be thy ally,  
 come out in force and hold on and  
 he shall go in peace.  
 and he shall . . . for grace,

li- [ ]  
 ù umma a-[na ]  
 ša ra-[bi ... ]  
 ù pa[ ] šu-u zu il(?) -zu  
 i-na-an-na a-na pa-ni be-lī-ia-ma  
 tab-ba ! Uṣ-ṣa An-ri-ši ù [ ]  
 ni-ki-im-ma An-ri-ši  
 i-na-an-na i-na dan-na-am(?) be-  
 li-is-lam(?) da(?) -ik(?) li ... an  
 pa-ni be-lī-ia lu ... mir(?)  
 ù ... am-ma ana be-lī-ma.

he shall ...  
and so for ...  
that is great ...  
and in face of ... , come out they claim.  
Now it is all under the eyes of my  
master.  
The associates Uzza, Anriši and ...  
We have taken Anriši  
Now in the fortress the master shall ...  
and shall make alliance ... and  
in front of my master may I ...  
and ... is to my master.

Historical letter recording the campaign of Nazimaruttaš against Mat-Namri, how he conquered 12 cities and added them to the dominion of Enlil.

[ ] / *Na-qi-marad-daš šar šarrê(?)* ... Nazi-maruttaš king (of kings?)  
[ ] / *Na-qi-marad-daš šar šarrê(?)* ... Nazi-maruttaš king (of kings?)



[ ] *ša-le kal a-a'-meš ši-kar* [ ]-ri ... drink of all fathers, was(?) dattel-  
wine  
*a-na haṭṭi(-i)-šal-la dar-bu-u ur* [ ] to Haṭṭi-šalla(?) offspring of (?).  
*al(?) -tu(?) a-na karani* .. drink(?) in grape-wine.  
*it-la-na-aš-ka-nu-ma sip-pi-ši lu* [ ] they have been brought down and its  
covering ...  
*la i-kaš-ši-du li-tum u ki-šit-[tum.]* they have not been taken, victory and  
conquest of hands and ...  
*na-ki-ri-šu la i-šak-ka-nu gaš-ri* his enemies shall not lay on in force.  
*1 11 Marduk-mu-rim-ki apil 1 11 Šamaš-* Marduk-murimki son of Šamaš-šuri,  
*šu-ri*  
*ina šu-tum(?) 11 Marduk beli-šu ina bīti* in dream saw Marduk his lord in the  
*u-šab-ri-ma* temple, and  
*qatē 11 Enlil beli-šu ina bīti ša ki-rib* the hands of Enlil his lord in the tem-  
*Ni-brū ki(?) aš(?)* [ ] ple that ... inside of Nippur ..  
*ma-ag-ga(?) -du(?) 2 karani ba-at-lu* a vase (offering) of wine that had  
*la šal-mu iš-ša-lu-šu* ceased no more intact was dedi-  
cated to him,  
*i-na ter-tum patri šu ša-qu šari é-kur šu* with the sign of his lofty spear, the  
*nik-na-ku-šu* wind of his temple ékur, of his  
censer,  
*i-nat-tu-ši ma-la taḫ-ḫa-a a-na 11 En-lil* they crushed it, all whatever ap-  
*ú [ ]-ri(?)* proached Enlil . they ....  
*o Na-zi-marad-daš a-mat 11 En-lil bēli* Nazi-maruttaš exalted the word of  
*it-ta' id-ma* the lord Enlil,  
*alāni meš ša mat Nam-ri ma-la [ba-šu-ú* all cities that were in the Mat Namri ...  
*ina ki ... ri dan* [ ] in strong .....  
*u-šab* [ ] he caused to ...  
.....

## REVERSE

[ ] *12 alāni meš pi-ḫat* [ ] ... 12 cities of the district of ...  
..... *u* [ ] ..... he ...  
*a-na kan-ga-nu 11 En-lil bēli-šu u-šik* [ ] to the dominion of his lord Enlil he  
*du-ur da-riš* subjected for ever  
*a-na qatē 11 En-lil mu-im-bi bi-a-šu ri-ba* into the hands of Enlil, who let shine(?)  
*ali gar-ri* the ruins(?) a fourth of city (for)  
destruction(?)  
*li-na-it bal-kid(?) karanu, dišpu, ḫimetu,* he delivered (?) wine, honey, butter,  
*inbu* fruits

<sup>1</sup> Or: *kal-abē*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *magdē, magaddu, magdadu*.



še-i ma-la ba-šu-u  
Pi duppi ' <sup>1</sup>En-lil-ia-ḫa(?) -nu

' Ba-ṣu-ṣu bal-tu <sup>1</sup>Enlil  
u <sup>1</sup>Nin-lil <sup>1</sup>Ninib u <sup>1</sup>Nusku  
... i-ta-bal-šu ina-arḫi-šu  
[a-na(?)] bēli-šu i-sa-ṭir-šu

grain, all that was there.  
According to the tablet of Enlil-ia-  
ḫanu(?)  
Bazuzu, alive (by?) Enlil  
and Ninlil, Ninib and Nusku,  
... has brought it, in the same month  
when it was written to his lord.

## No. 70. CBS. 13880

Business document. The date, "the 16th year," is somewhat uncertain.

3 (gur) 90 (qa) še ḫar-ra giš-bar dingir  
še-ba

ki ' <sup>1</sup>Marduk-ni-ṣu  
' <sup>1</sup>Nabû-na-din-aḫê meš  
šu-ba-an-ti  
a-na um eburi šu  
ni-šam-e  
Araḫ Tašriti  
um 21 kam  
mu 16 kam.  
' <sup>1</sup>Nabû-nadin-aḫê meš  
i-nu-ma  
i-na duppi ' Kur-a-ṣu-ṣu  
[ ] -a-ni ka-ni-ik

3 gur 90 qa of ground barley, measure  
of the god, as rations  
from Marduk-nizu  
Nabû-nadin-aḫê  
has received.  
On the day of harvesting  
he shall pay.  
Month of Tašrit  
the 21st day,  
the 16th year.  
Nabu-nadin-aḫê  
when  
on the tablet of Kurazuzu  
his seal(?) was impressed.

## No. 71. CBS. 7188

Food receipt, dated the 3rd year of Kudur-Enlil, under the seal of Ninib-nadin . . . .

4 (gur) 10 (qa) geme giš-bar 300 qa(?).  
ak-lum ḫarra-nu Larsam ki  
gati ' Aši <sup>1</sup>Šamaš <sup>1</sup>Adad  
ina libbi ' Ta-ṣi-ik(?)  
na-as-ḫa-am-ma,  
ka-an-ka-sa(?) -šu

4 gur 10 qa of flour, measure of 300 qa  
food for the expedition of Larsa,  
into the hands of Aši-Šamaš-Adad  
On Tazik  
it was drawn and  
marked with his seal.

## No. 72. CBS. 14203

Donation.

Na-din-tu ša ' Ti-ṣu <sup>1</sup>Marduk  
a-na Ši-lu-u-ti i-din-nu.

Donation that Tizu-Marduk  
bestowed on Šiluti.

1 sikkatu ... na i-si-bi ti-ra	1 peg .... to close a cover
i-na šatti 5 ma-lul <sup>a</sup> En-lil	during 5 years to Malul-Enlil
1 ma-na šipati 10 (qa) iā-giš ina ali	1 pound of wool, 10 qa of sesame oil at
Larsam <sup>ki</sup>	Larsa
1 ma-na šipati 150 (qa) ina ali Nibru <sup>ki</sup>	1 pound of wool, 150 qa at Nippur
1 lubuštu kab-ru ' Nīg-ba-ia dumu-a-	1 heavy garment for Nigbaia his son
ni šu	
Nap̄har 4, ½, ⅓ nig būraši ša ina qati	Total 4 + ½ + ⅓ nig of gold belonging
' Ti-ṣu <sup>u</sup> Marduk ' Ši-lu-tu maḥ-ru	to Tiz-Marduk, Šilutu has received.

No. 73. CBS. 13878

Business document dated the 8th year of Kudur-Enlil.

No. 74. CBS. 14197

Food expense (*ak-lum*) by the hands (*qat*) of Uzipu, on the 3rd year of Kudur-Enlil.

No. 75. CBS. 15062

Business document, dated the 1st year of Sagarakti-šuriaš.

2 eru ki-tu-u ša ma-la(?)	2 copper covers, that ...
2⅔ ma-na ki-lal-bi	2⅔ pounds their weight,
ša ištu ali Ardi-bēlit	which from the city of Ardi bēlit
iš-šu-nim	they removed
qati ' Amel <sup>u</sup> Marduk	by the hands of Amel Marduk.
1 eru ku-tu-u	1 copper vase
.....	

No. 76. CBS. 15220

Cassite letter.

OBVERSE

A-na be-lī-ia ' qi-bi-ma	To my master say:
um-ma ' <sup>u</sup> Marduk-ri-še-šu na-ka ....	thus (speaks) Marduk-rišešu ..
a-na di-na-an be-lī-ia lu-ul-lik	To the justice of my master may I
	find access
ana ali šulmu ù é-dingir-ra šu-ul-mu	Peace to the city and peace to the
	temple.
72 ša-ki-lum ša-par-[	72 keeper of ...

[	]	<i>é<sup>a</sup>nir-gal nibru<sup>ki</sup></i>	.. temple of the hero of Nippur
[	]	<i>im-lu ba [ ] ir ga-a-ti</i>	... have filled ... of the hand
[	]	<i>-ta-ka-an [ ] še ša-ki-li</i>	..... grain of the keepers
[	]	<i>ba-du ši [ ] su-ip-pi-in-ni</i>	.... rejoice ... of the cover.
[	]	<i>-ta [ ] -an</i>	.....
[	]	<i>ri [ ] -di ma-a-li</i>	..... of the country,
<i>a-na abullī<sup>a</sup> En-lil al-ta-ni</i>			to the great gate of Enlil, I come again.
2	ši-pi [ ]	<i>ša kirê<sup>meš</sup></i>	2 fences(?) ... of orchards
<i>ar-ta-pi-ik</i>			I have worked up.
20	še-zer ša ú-il [ ]		20 measures of seeds of ....
.....			.....

## REVERSE

[	]	<i>ba-ar [ ]</i>	.... afterward(?)...
[	]	<i>pa-te-si [ ] ša be-li-a</i>	... of the patesi, ... that my master.
<i>[a]-na alī dīm-tuk-šes<sup>ki</sup> (?)</i>			to the city of Dim-tuk šes (?)
9	(gur) še-zer	3 (gur) ta-ām	9 gur of seeds 3 gur at a time
<i>it-ta-as-su</i>			have been taken.

## No. 77. CBS. 15151

Cassite letter. Culture of land. The sesame of the king is being ground (*ba-ma-šum*). The fields have been sowed (*še-um id-di-nu-šum*). By the sun god they shall thrive: (*i-na di-i-in* "Šamaš, la i-ba-ab-ba-lu-šu).

## No. 78. CBS. 14135

Survey of land. Plan for field irrigation about B.C. 1250. A total of 138 canals are cut across Eden, probably the land around Nippur, covering it with a regular net-work for water-supply. Three or four larger districts are mentioned in connection with the main canal from which the water was led to smaller places or villages. The district of Kar-Ninlil has a total of 76 new branches off the main river. The district of Nâr eššuti has only 12 cuts around Bit-Ellil. The name of the third district with its 30 branches is lost. Dated the 12th year of Šagarakti-šuriaš.

## OBVERSE

.....			.....
<i>naḫḫar 30 me-e nār [</i>			] total 30 canals of the river . .
26 <i>ali Dūl-bu [</i>	<i>ki</i>	26	of the village(?) Dulbu,
4 <i>ali Kislaḫ-bi</i>	<i>ki</i>	4	of Kislaḫbi,
10 <i>ali Dūr <sup>u</sup>Nin-maḫ</i>	<i>ki</i>	10	of Dūr-Ninmaḫ,
11 <i>ali Kar <sup>u</sup>Ba-ū</i>	<i>ki</i>	11	of Kar-Bau,
10 <i>ali pa-te-si <sup>meš</sup></i>	<i>ki</i>	10	of "The patesis,"
7 <i>ali Ur-ḫi <sup>u</sup>En-lil</i>	<i>ki</i>	7	of Urpi-Enlil,
8 <i>ali Karri <sup>u</sup>Kar-ḫi-tim</i>	<i>ki</i>	8	of Karri-Karzitim
<i>naḫḫar 76 me-e nār ḫiḫati ali Kar</i>		Total 76	canals from the river in the
	<i><sup>u</sup>Nin-lil</i>		district of Kar-Ninlil.
12 <i>ali Bīt <sup>u</sup>En-lil</i>	<i>ki</i>	12	of Bit-Enlil,
<i>me-e nār eššū-ti</i>			canals of the Nār-eššuti.
<i>Šu-nigin 138 ḫar git-ma-lu-u-tum,</i>		Total 138	canals completely cut cover-
<i>wa-ḫa-lim eḏin-na</i>			ing the plain.

No. 79. CBS. 14219

Business document dated the 1st year of Nabu šum(?)  
ukin-nu(?).

No. 80. CBS. 14180

A Nippur gold treasure in the 5th year of Nazi-maruttaš. The tablet is not complete. There must be an interval of four or five lines between the two portions preserved. The left corner is broken off. The tablet is a catalogue of over 125 jewels in gold and precious stones, chalcedony, lapis-lazuli, agate, etc. They rank from caskets all gold, or with stones inlaid, down to necklaces, bracelets, anklets, seal-cylinders in gold mounting, eyes of stone in gold mounting, breastplates, earrings, tablet mould and tongue of gold. They were brought from Nippur and Dur-Kurigalzu into Ardi-Bēlit. The two last named places seem to have been parts of the same city of Nippur. The tablet does not state under what circumstances the removal was made.

The royal treasure was likely preserved in the temple. The king was the šakkanakku of the god, entrusted with his seal, and disposing of his property. The same jewels are frequently

mentioned in royal despatches. They agree in form and material with what we know of the Cassite period. Some of them have been excavated<sup>1</sup> near the temple of Enlil at Nippur, covered with inscriptions that make certain the name and piety of the kings. They were all votive objects in form of discs, scepter knobs, tablets, axes, rings, seal cylinders and eyes. They were presented to Enlil, Ninlil, Ninib, Nusku, by Kurigalzu and his successors. The collection included all sorts of precious material: agate, lapis-lazuli, magnesite, feldspar, ivory, turquoise, malachite, amethyst, gold and porphyry.

Should we try to realize the historical background of the present tablet, we may bear in mind the following facts. Nippur was ruined by an Elamite invasion at the time of Kaštiliašu, about B.C. 1250. This king is the last mentioned in the collection of votive objects preserved in the temple. No Cassite<sup>2</sup> tablets have been found in Nippur that antedate Burnaburiaš, about B.C. 1380. He is the best known correspondent of the Egyptian kings, anxious to secure gold for the temple work and exchange gifts and jewels. Now, we must not forget that the Cassite kings brought a foreign rule into Babylonia, but got only by degrees the control of the whole land. We know for example, that: "King Kurigalzu, having conquered the country of the sea, added Babylon and Borsippa unto his country"—a sure proof that he did not rule them before. This same king did build in Nippur, probably, his residence at the time, a palace or fortress named after him: Dur-Kurigalzu. It was connected with old Nippur by a stone dam or canal, that passed likewise by Ardi-Bêlit. Kurigalzu was succeeded by his son Burnaburiaš. Both of them were strong kings, allies and relatives of the kings of Egypt. But soon after them, the growing power of Assyria brought trouble into the land. The Assyrian king, Assur-uballit, following up the usual matrimonial policy, gave

<sup>1</sup> The largest collection was discovered by DR. PETERS in 1890. The store room for keeping treasures and gifts was discovered by HAYNES in the S. E. wall of the fortified enclosure. It was a cellar 36 X 11½ feet and 8½ feet deep, dating from Ur-Engur, and covering an older one 2 feet below.

<sup>2</sup> A. T. CLAY, BE. XIV, XV; H. RADAU, BE. XVII, 1.

his daughter as a wife to the son and heir of Burnaburiaš. The Cassites resented the intrusion, revolted and killed the prince, which fact brought the Assyrian armies down into Babylonia with the object of extending the Assyrian protectorate over the country.

The correctness of this view is confirmed by an Assyrian document of Adad-nirari great-grandson of Assur-uballit, and likely contemporary of Nazi-maruttaš under whose reign our tablet was compiled. Adad-nirari claims for himself and his father the title of priest of Enlil. That means that the Assyrian rule was to a certain extent acknowledged in Nippur. But the great-father not having extended his dominion so far south is simply priest of Ašur, fighting the rebellious Cassite, and the great-grand-father, Assur-uballit, has only a vague title of priest of the gods.. The extreme southern limit of that fight for greater Assyria is given by Adad-nirari himself as "from Lübdī and Rapiqu." And the Assyrian king claims that he did restore the ruined Cassite cities. We know in fact that under the successor of Nazi-maruttaš: Kadašman-Turgu, the tower of Nippur temple underwent a thorough repairing. Curiously enough that very name—or city—Lubdi, is mentioned in the tablet along with jewels removed from or out of it. It looks as if storing them in safe Ardi-Bêlit was a good precaution in the troubled days of Nazi-maruttaš.

## OBVERSE

<i>Du-ul-li ħuraši ša Nippuri ù Dûr-</i>	Gold work from Nippur and Dûr-
<i>Ku-ri-gal-ġu</i>	Kurigalzu,
<i>ša a-na <sup>al</sup>Arđi-Bêlit ina <sup>arab</sup>Šabâti</i>	brought into Ardi-Bêlit, in the month
	of Šabat,
<i>ša šanat 5<sup>ham</sup> Na-ġi-[ma-ru-ut-ta-aš</i>	the 5th year of King Nazi-maruttaš
<i>šarri</i>	
<i>1 kutallu ħurâši ga-na-ad-du<sup>1</sup> <sup>aban</sup>ukni</i>	1 casket of gold with a cover of lapis-
<i>tam-lu-ú <sup>aban</sup></i>	lazuli and a bottom of . . . stone,
<i>2 kutallê ħurâši ġu-up-pa-tum<sup>2</sup></i>	2 caskets of gold coating,

<sup>1</sup> *Ganânu.*<sup>2</sup> *Šubatu.*



1 e-rum ħurâši ša ħar-ba-ga-ni ù a-a-ra-ni <sup>aban</sup> ka-ni-[	1 box of gold with vultures(?) and eagles in ... stone (inlaid).
1 e-rum ħurâši ša ga-na-an-di 5 inê mušgarri <sup>1</sup> ra-ki-[	1 box of gold the cover of which has 5 eyes of agate stone inlaid,
5 e-rum ħurâši zu-up-ḫu-tum 14½[šiglu šugulti	5 boxes of gold coating, 14½ shekels in weight
7 KI-SUHUR ar-ma-ti <sup>2</sup> ħurâši 11 šiglu [	7 necklaces in form of chain of gold, 11 shekels ...
2 KI-SUHUR <sup>3</sup> pu-gut-ti ħurâši 14 šiglu [	2 necklaces in form of thorns of gold, 14 shekels ..
1 KI-SUHUR pu-gut-ti ga-ba-al-šu [ ] ħi-na-ti [ ]	1 necklace in form of thorns, with a pendant ...
2 HAR-ŠU <sup>4</sup> ħurâši ša iḫ-pi-[ ]	2 bracelets of gold with fruits(?) ... ,
[ ] ħurâši zu-up-ḫu-[tum ]	.... of gold coating ... , 3 shekels ...
	3 šiglu [
.....	.....
2 HAR-[GIR ]	2 anklets [of gold ... ,
2 <sup>aban</sup> kunukkê parrî [	2 seal cylinders of chalcedony (?) ... ,
2 <sup>aban</sup> kunukkê uknî iḫ-ḫu ħurâši [	2 seal cylinders of lapis lazuli with gold mounting,
1 <sup>aban</sup> kunukku mušgarri iḫ-ḫu ħurâši [	1 seal cylinder of agate with gold mounting,
5 NUNUZ-IN <sup>5aban</sup> parrê rabâti [	5 necklaces of large chalcedony stones,
7 inê <sup>6aban</sup> parrî a-di 1 lu-li da-ni-tum <sup>7</sup> iḫ-ḫu ħurâši	7 eyes of chalcedony stone together with a dainty coat of mail in a gold mounting,
6 inê <sup>aban</sup> parrî siḫrâti la iḫ-ḫu [	6 eyes of small chalcedony stone, no mounting,
4 inê <sup>aban</sup> mušgarri iḫ-ḫu ħurâši [	4 eyes of agate with gold mounting
11 ḫi-ir-su <sup>8aban</sup> mušgarri adi 6 ka-ak-ki ni-du [	11 cut (hilt or ring?) agate stones to- gether with 6 arms ...
2 tu-di-it-ti <sup>9aban</sup> uknî [	2 breastplates of lapis lazuli ...

<sup>1</sup> Br. 7642.<sup>2</sup> Erimtu, arimtu.<sup>3</sup> Kimmatu, ħinaḫu, šamatu. Dog collar, REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 229-230. *Maninnu*, KB. VI, p. 176, l. 169.<sup>4</sup> Šemir qatšša u šepêšša.<sup>5</sup> Šusû, Br. 8183. *Nakamtu šušt.* Cf. JENSEN, KB. VI, p. 82, Z. 48.<sup>6</sup> BE. XVII, 1, No. 26 and HILPRECHT note, *ibid.*, p. 118, n. 11. *Zadim dag-ḫar-gul-gul*, REISNER, *Telloh*, No. 140, 149, 154, 156. Gud. Cyl. A, XVI, 27.<sup>7</sup> Lu-lu-um-tum and da-ni-tum: *nahlaptu taḫaḫi*.<sup>8</sup> Ĥarâšū.<sup>9</sup> *Dudinâte ša irtiša*.



2 *tu-di-it-ti* <sup>aban</sup> *mušgarri* [   
 8 *in-za-ap-ti* *ha-še-e<sup>1</sup>* *hurâši*   
 8 *in-za-ap-ti* <sup>aban</sup> *uknî*   
 1 *ša-an<sup>2</sup>* *dup-pi* <sup>aban</sup> *parri la iḫ-ṣu*

1 *li-ša-nu<sup>3</sup>* *ša hurâši rušši*   
*naḫḫaru ša Nippuri ki*

2 breastplates of agate . . .   
 8 earrings of compact gold,   
 8 earrings of lapis lazuli,   
 1 tablet mould of chalcedony, no   
 mounting,   
 1 tongue of russet gold,   
 total from Nippur;

## REVERSE

1 *kutallu hurâši rušši*  $\frac{1}{3}$  *ma-na šuqulti* 1 casket of russet gold  $\frac{1}{3}$  maneh in   
 weight,   
 2 *e-ru hurâši rušši a-di ša iš-tu* 2 boxes of russet gold together with   
*Lu-ub-di<sup>4</sup> . . . . . ra* 15 *šiḫlu šuqulti* one . . . from Lubdi, 15 shekels   
 in weight,   
 3 *e-ru hurâši pišī* 11 *šiḫlu šuqulti* 3 boxes of pale gold 11 shekels in   
 weight,   
 3 *KI-SUHUR ar-ma-ti hurâši rušši* 3 necklaces in form of chain of russet   
*10  $\frac{1}{3}$  šiḫlu šuqulti* gold, 10  $\frac{1}{3}$  shekels in weight,   
 2 *KI-SUHUR ar-ma-ti hurâši rušši* 2 necklaces, idem, 10 shekels in weight,   
*10 šiḫlu šuqulti*   
 2 *HAR-ŠU hurâši rušši ab-bi ša lu-ū* 2 bracelets of russet gold, with a facing   
*17  $\frac{1}{3}$  šiḫlu šuqulti* in shape of a bull, 17  $\frac{1}{3}$  shekels in   
 weight,   
 1 *HAR-GIR hurâši rušši* 2 *šiḫlu* [ 1 anklet of russet gold, 2 shekels . . ,   
*naḫḫar ša Dûr-Ku-ri-gal-ṣu qât* total from Dûr-Kurigalzu, from the   
*1 Sa-bar* [ hand of Sabar . . . ,   
 5 *e-ru hurâši rušši ṣu-up-pu-tum* [ 5 boxes of russet gold coating . . .   
 1 *HAR-ŠU hurâši rušši ṣu-up-pu-tum* [ 1 bracelet of russet gold coating . . .   
 1 *HAR-GIR hurâši rušši ṣu-up-pu-* 1 anklet of russet gold coating . . .   
*tum* [   
 11 *NUNUZ-IN* <sup>aban</sup> *parri* <sup>aban</sup> *mušgarri* 11 necklaces of chalcedony, agate,   
*5<sup>aban</sup> [še . . .* 5 . . . stones,   
*[naḫḫar] 1<sup>u</sup> Nin-uraš-ri-ṣu* [ total from Ninib-rizu.   
 [ ] *hurâši ṣu-up-pu-tum* [ . . . . . of gold coating . .   
 10 [ 10 . . . . .   
*arah Šabâti am* 25 <sup>kam</sup> Month of Šabat, the 25th   
*šatti 5<sup>kam</sup>* of the 5th year   
*Na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš šarri* of King Nazimaruttaş

<sup>1</sup> *Hašû*: entrails.

<sup>2</sup> *Sânu*.

<sup>3</sup> Nabd. 33, 1.

<sup>4</sup> BE. XVII, 1, No. 99, 6.

## No. 81. CBS. 2350

Fragment of a barrel-shaped cylinder of Sargon(?) II of Assyria, that seems to establish his activity in Babylonian, and specially in Nippur reconstruction.

[	-nim-ma(?)	.... he captured(?) and
[	] -zêr-matâti mat i-bi-lu-ma [.	.... the land he governed and
[	]        še-pu-uš-šu	.... under his feet.
[	é-sag]-il u Babi'u <sup>ki</sup>	.. Esagil and Babylon,
[	] mu-kin sat-tuk-ku	... fixing the offering
[	Babi]li <sup>ki</sup> sa-li-iḫ-šu-u	... of Babylon, its outer wall
[	] -ú        šu-bat-su	.... , its dwelling
[	ušum]-gal kalam-ma ú-tir-ú-ma	... the great .. of the land, he re- stored and
[	]        da-ra-a-ti	..... eternal,
[	] ul-tu    ki-rib <sup>mat</sup> Aššur <sup>ki</sup>	..... out of Assur,
[	] šu-nu    is-gu-ri-šu-un	.... there    he proclaimed them
[	] ma-ḫa-si    rabuti <sup>me</sup>	... great ...
[	uš-te-]-ši-ru        šu-luḫ-ḫu	... her ordered purifications
[	] mar(?) ' Šarukin šar <sup>mat</sup> Aššur <sup>ki</sup>	... Sargon king of Assur
[	]        ù Akkad <sup>ki</sup>	[of Sumer] and Akkad
[	] ni mar ' A-da-ad šar <sup>mat</sup> Aššur <sup>ki</sup>	..... son of Adad(?) king of Assur
[	] -tu-ki šap-ti-a-a	..... of my lips
[	lil?] bēl matâti bēl-ia ša šar	Enlil(?) lord of the countries, my lord
	ma-ki-i ..	who a king of destruction(?)
	]        igarâti	..... the walls

## Nos. 82, 83. CBS. 13707, 13708

Two copies of a legal document: adjustment between brothers, sons of Nabu-zêr-ukin. It is dated the first year of Aššur-e-til-lum-ilâni the son of Ašurbanipal.

## No. 84. CBS. 11074

Fragment of omina(?), mixing up observations on stars and constellations with geographical names and historical events:

Umma, Uruk and Larsa (Obv. 15); <sup>mat</sup>Akkadi, <sup>mat</sup>Ki-su... (Obv. 25, 26); lugal Elamti (Rev. 14, 15).

*Mul-gal nig-da-gi-gibil-lá* (Rev. 3); *mul la-mi-na-ti(l)la* (Rev. 5); *mul* ... *ḥar-gal, mul-dil-bat* ... (Rev. 10, 11); *mul ḥa* ... (Rev. 18); [*mul*]-*ur-bar-ra*, *mul ki-il* ... (Rev. 26); [*mul*? *ku*?]-*še-ri Nibru<sup>ki</sup>* ... (Rev. 27.)

## No. 85. CBS. 14204

Business document dated the 42nd year of Ar-taḥ-kur-su(?), and bearing the seal of Gi-zu-Marduk.

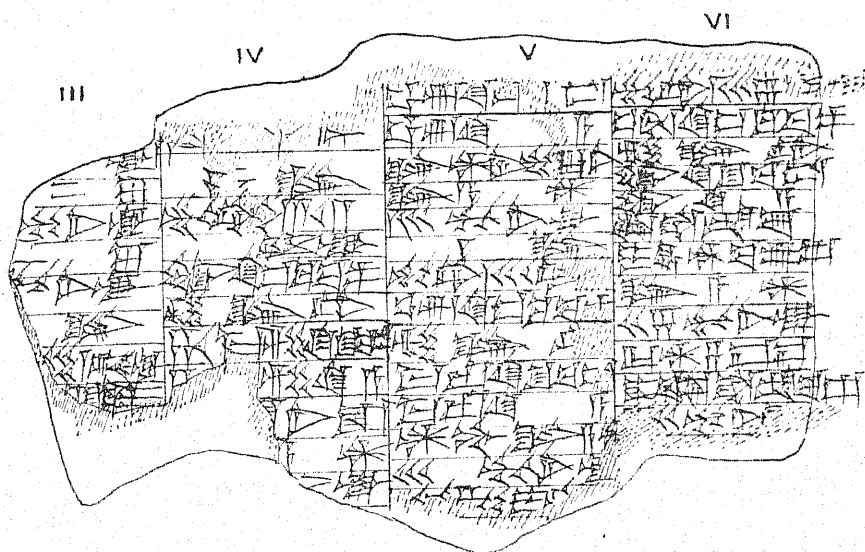
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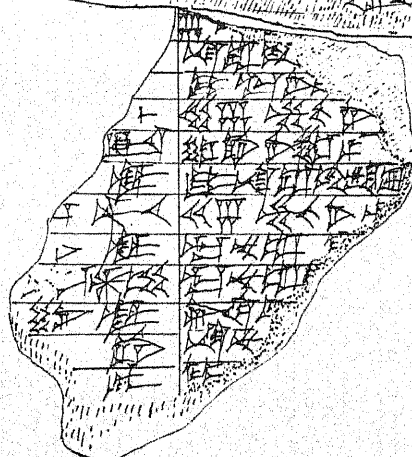
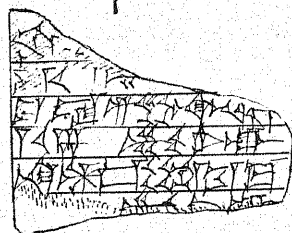
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I







3

CB5 14224

OBV.

REV.

Handwritten cuneiform script on the obverse of tablet CB5 14224. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the standard cuneiform.

Handwritten cuneiform script on the reverse of tablet CB5 14224. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. Below the main body of text, there is a small, distinct symbol or mark.

4

CB5. 14225

OBV.

Handwritten cuneiform script on the obverse of tablet CB5. 14225. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines.

REV.

Handwritten cuneiform script on the reverse of tablet CB5. 14225. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines.

5

CB5 12570

Handwritten cuneiform script on the obverse of tablet CB5 12570. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines.

Handwritten cuneiform script on the reverse of tablet CB5 12570. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines.

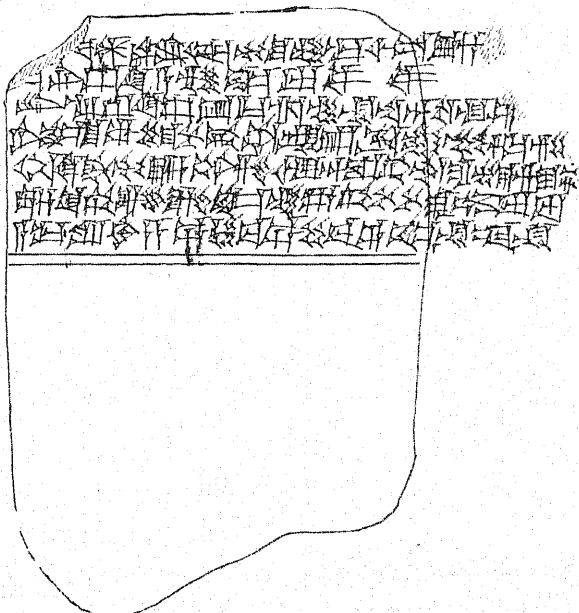
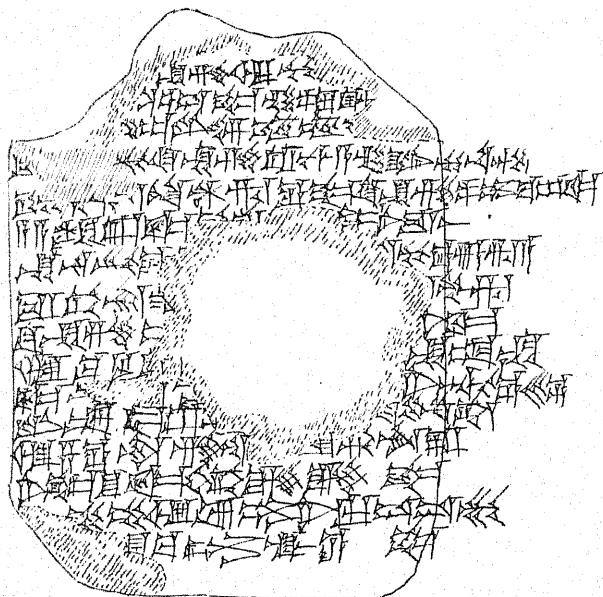


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CBS 14230

OBV

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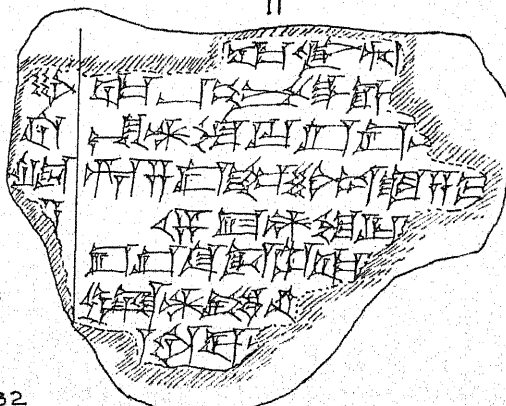
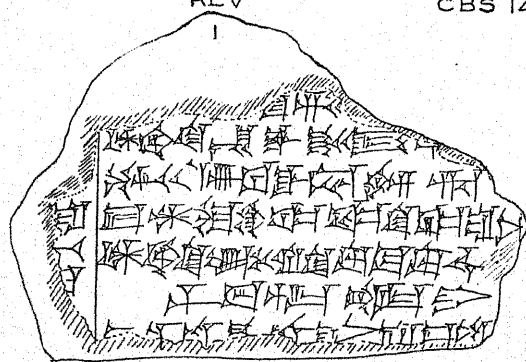


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CBS 14231

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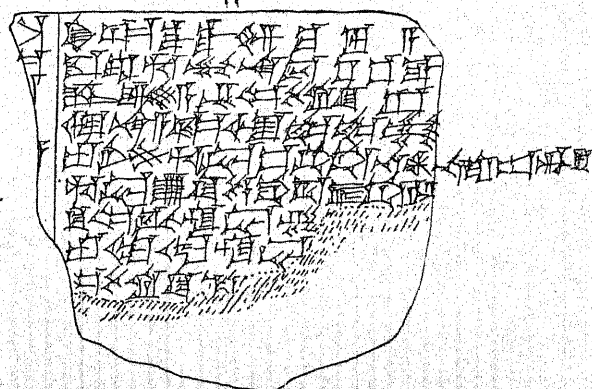
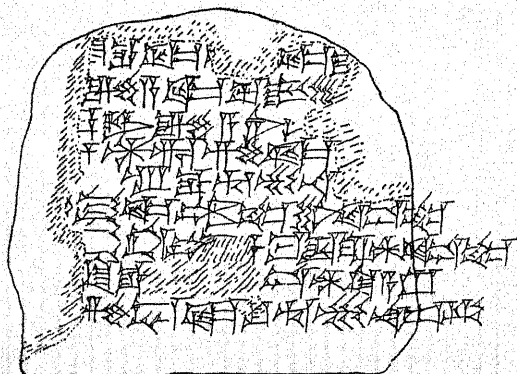


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CBS 14232

REV

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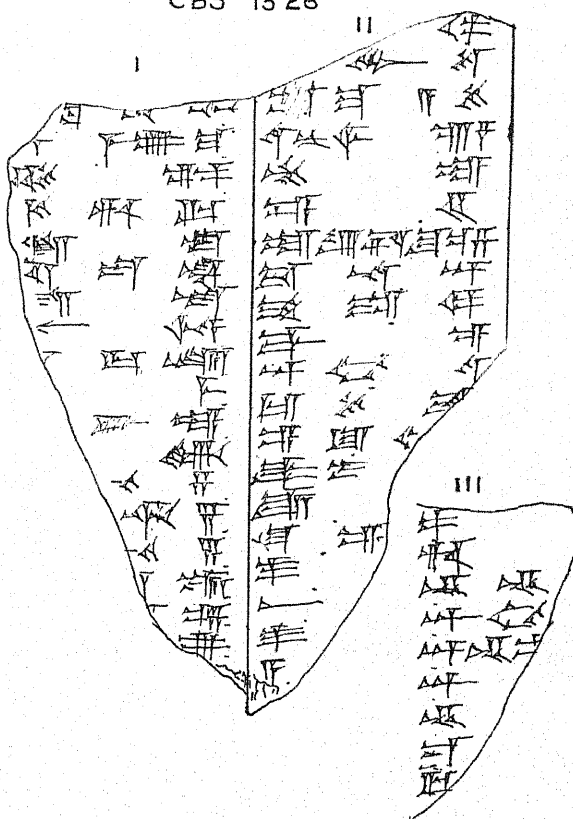




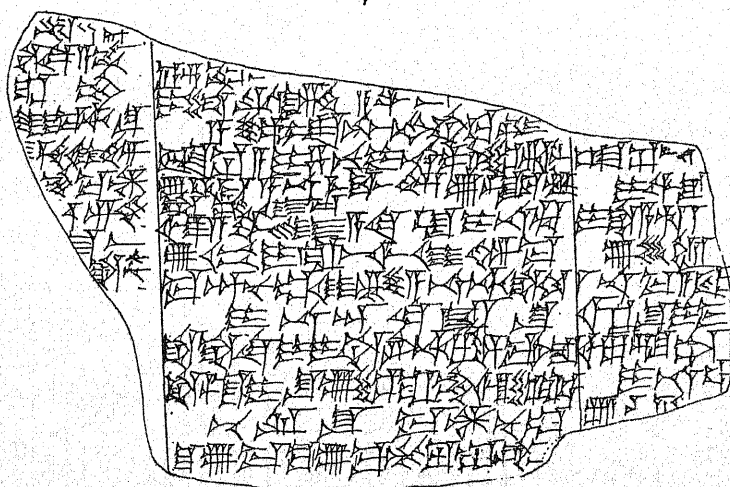
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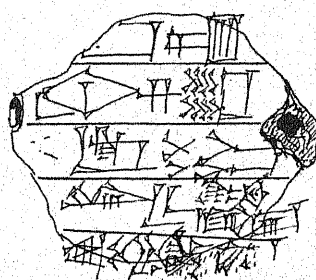
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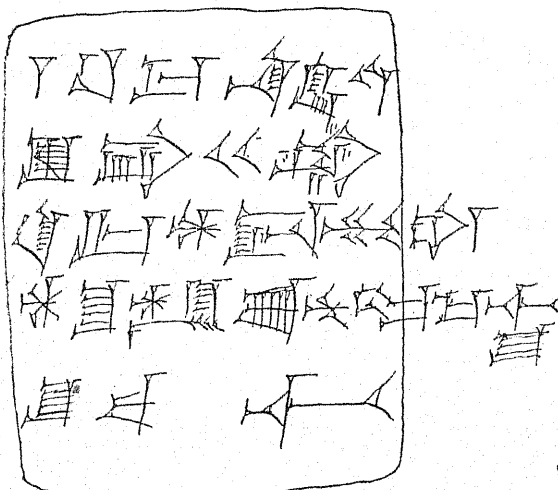




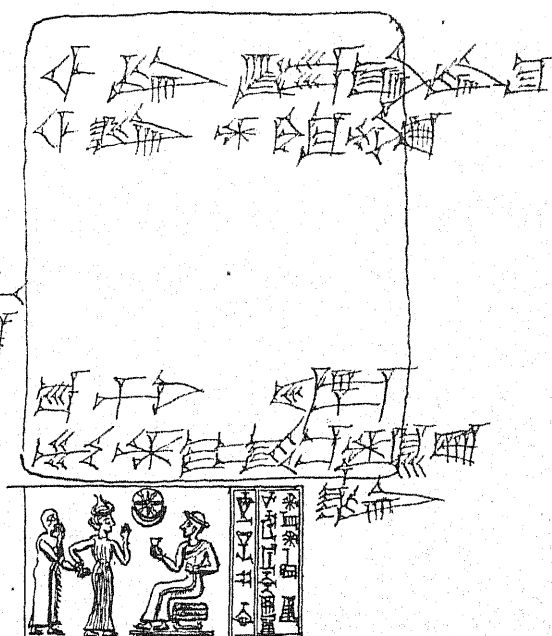


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OBV

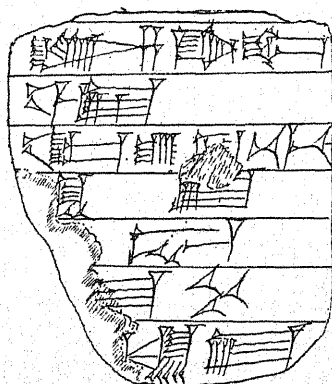


REV

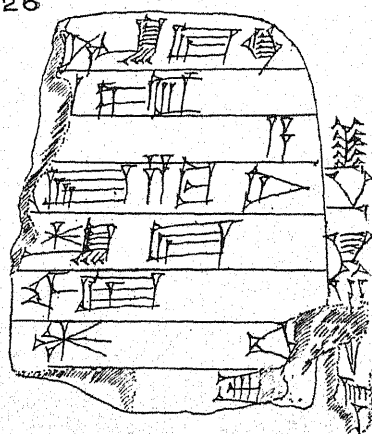


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CBS 14226

OBV

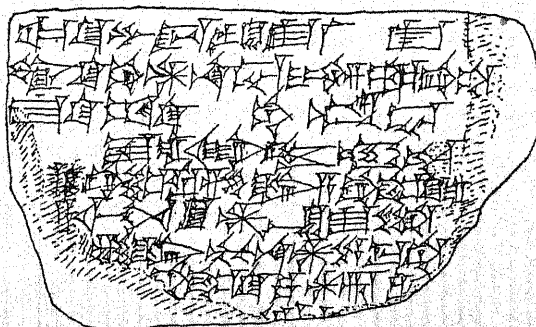


REV



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CBS 14227

OBV



REV

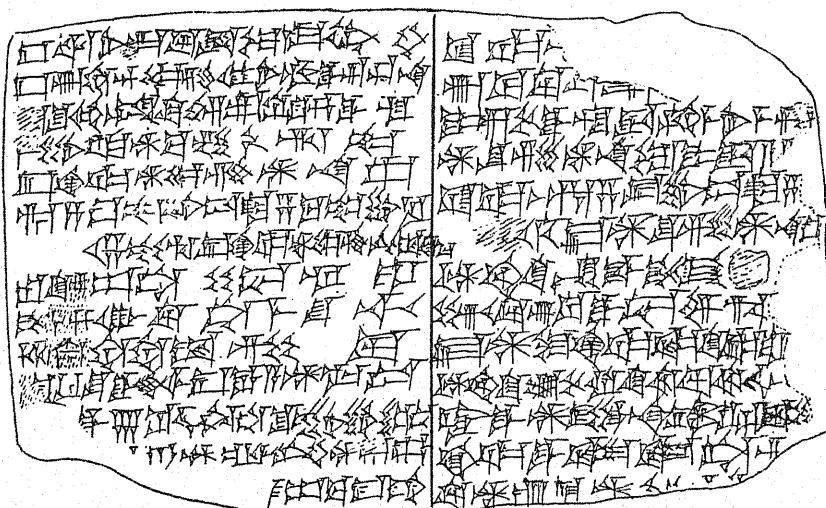






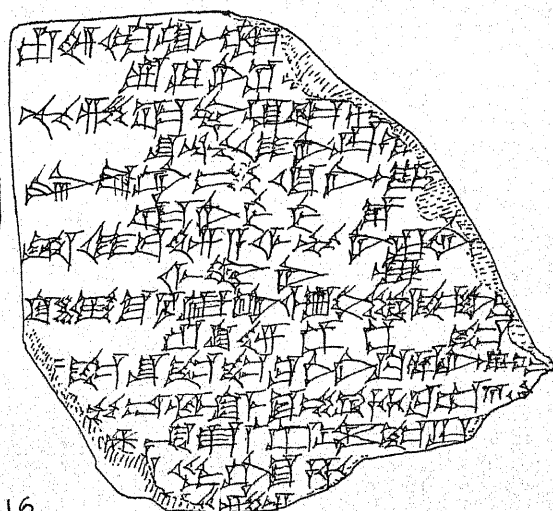
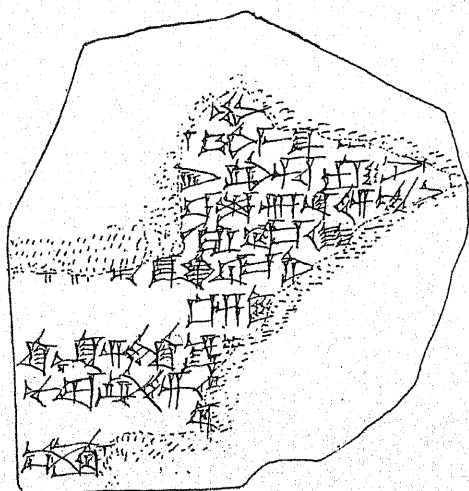
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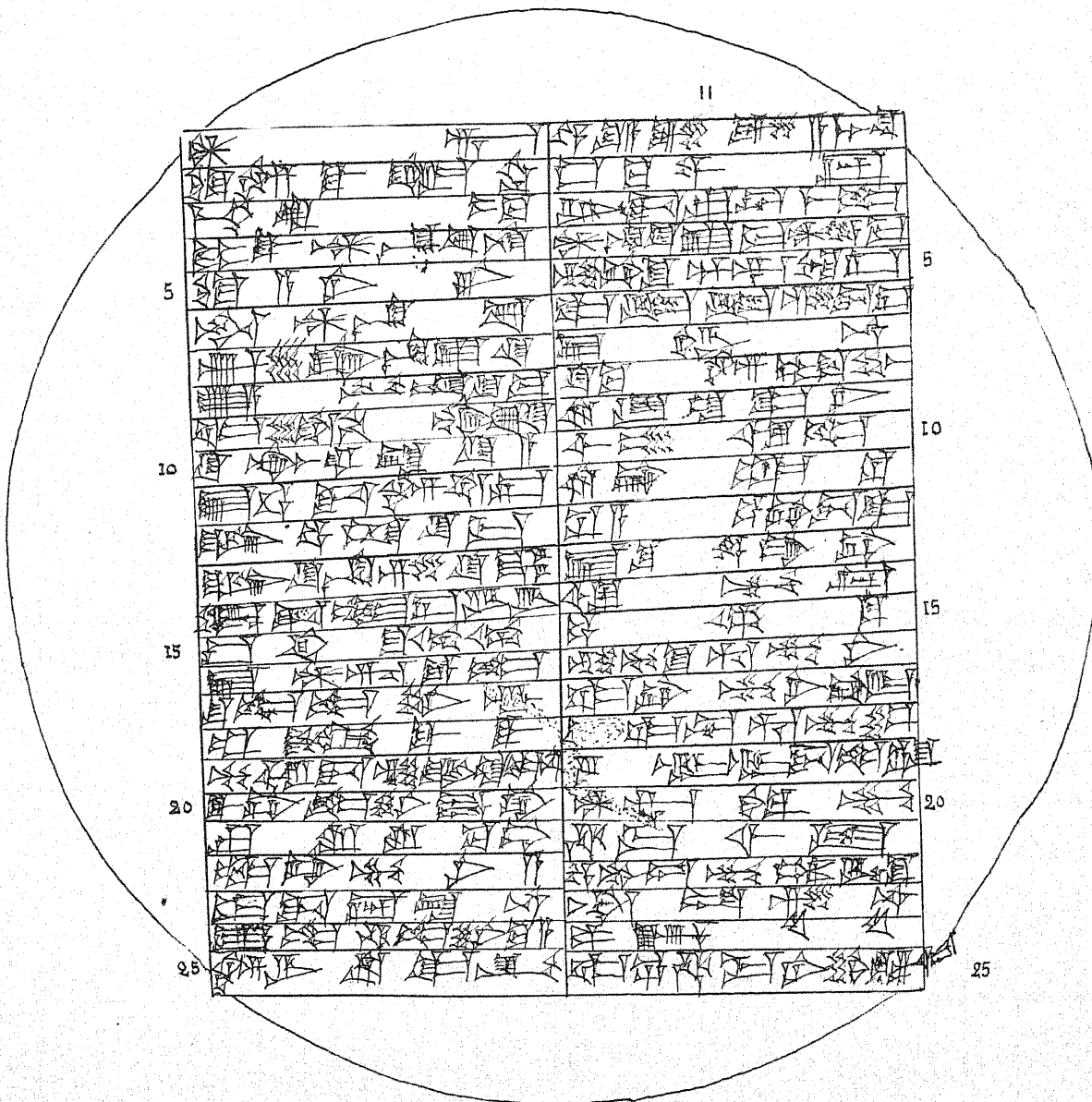
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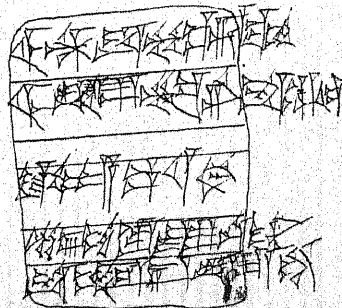
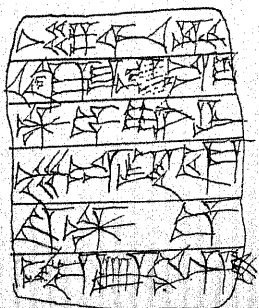
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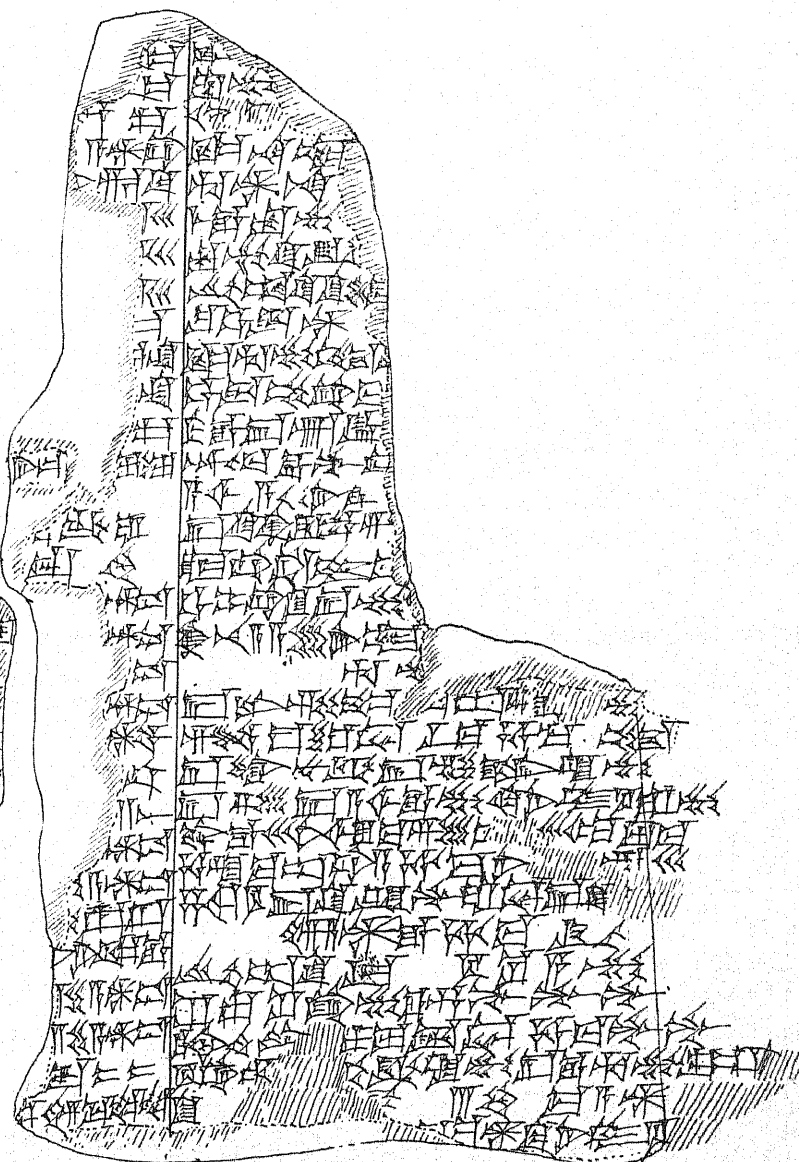
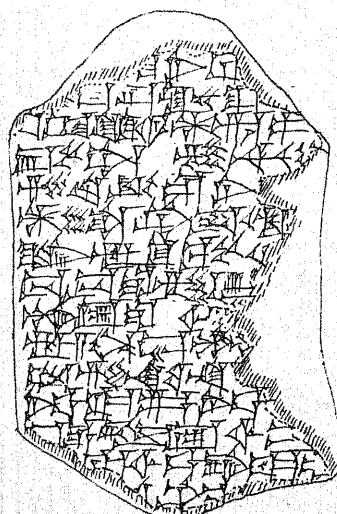
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CB5 12700



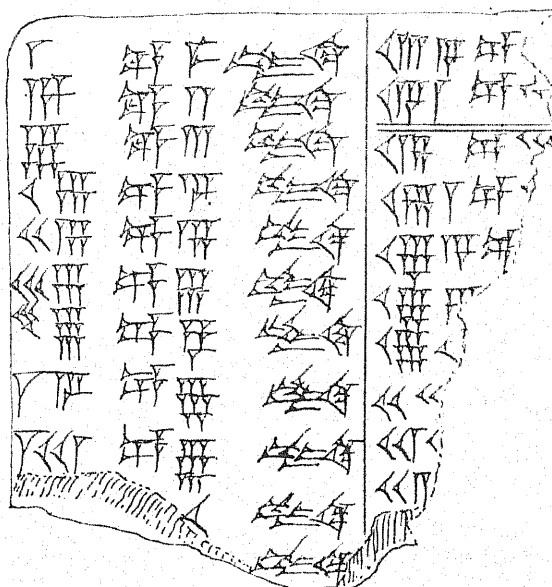
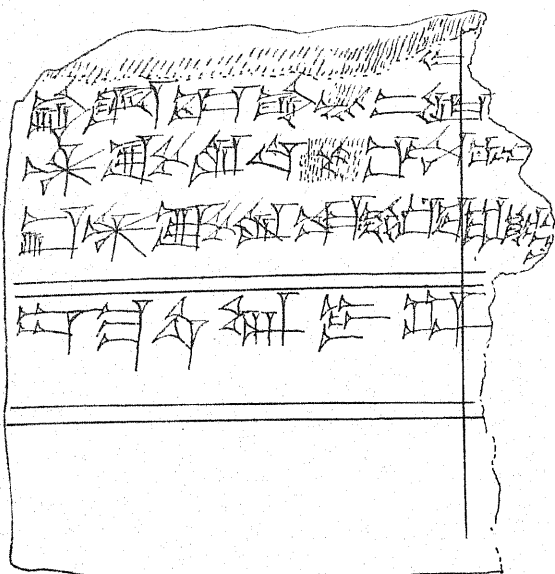




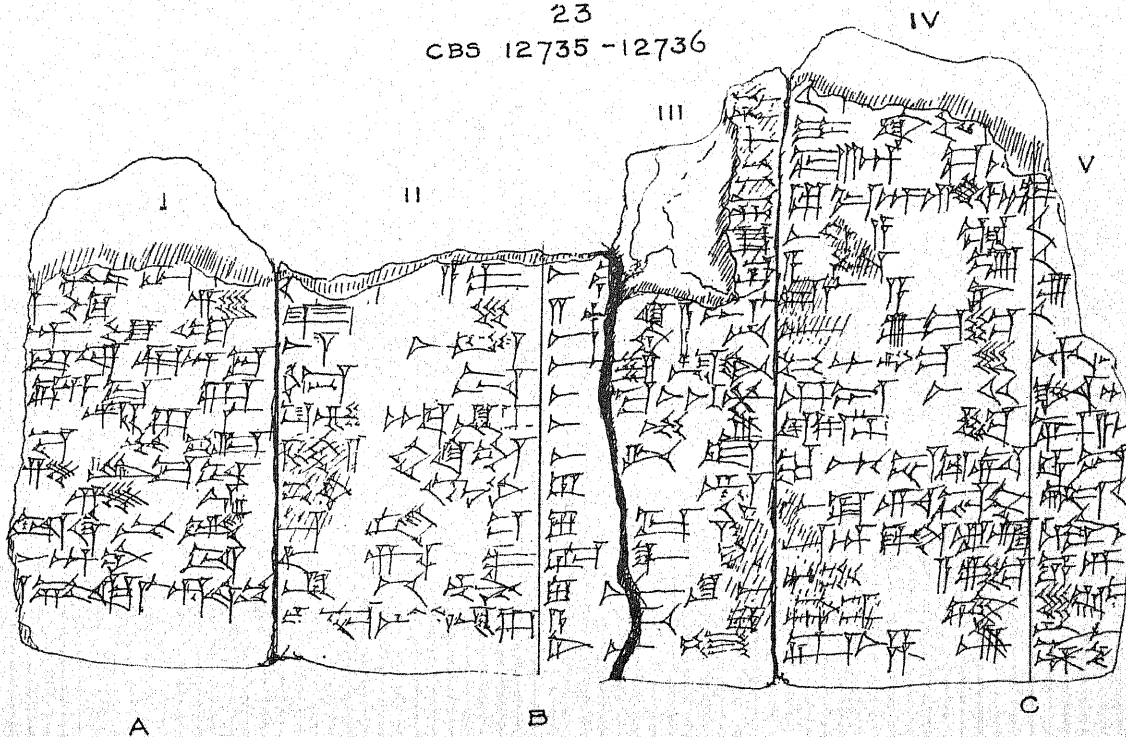
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OBV

REV



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CBS 12735 -12736



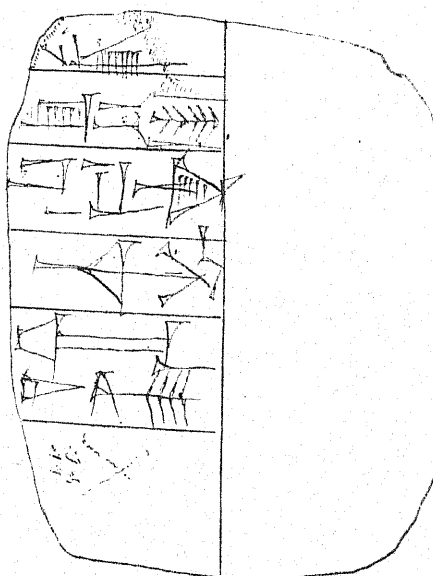
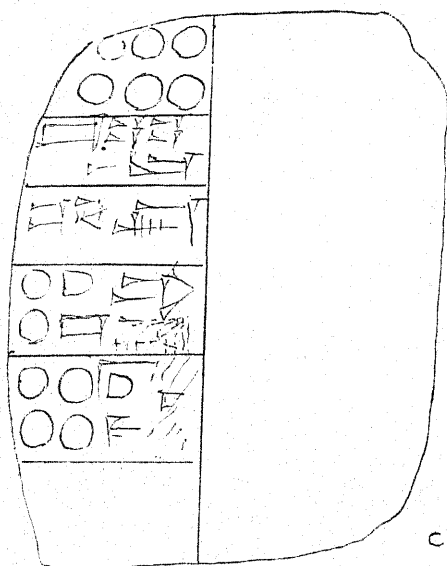


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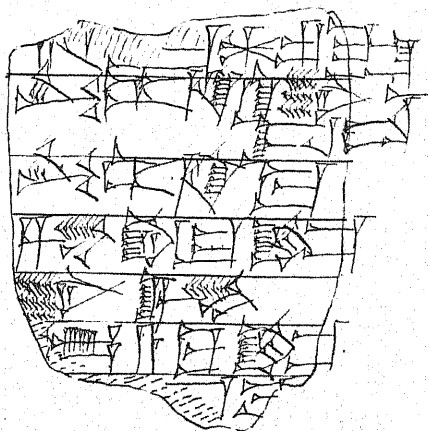
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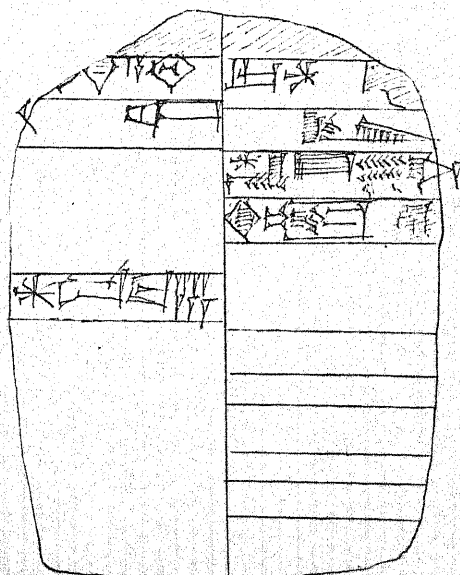
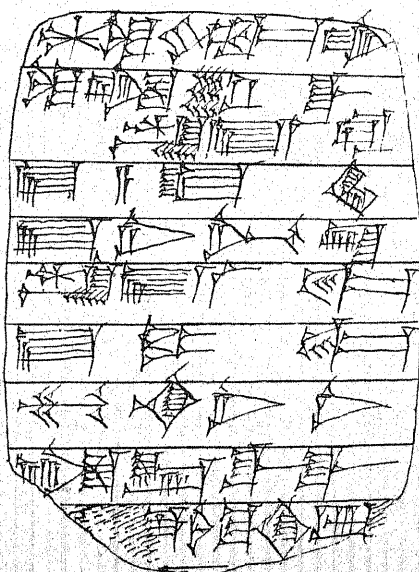


OBV

REV

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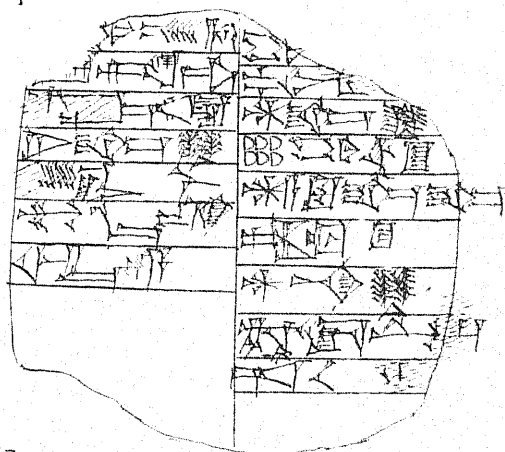
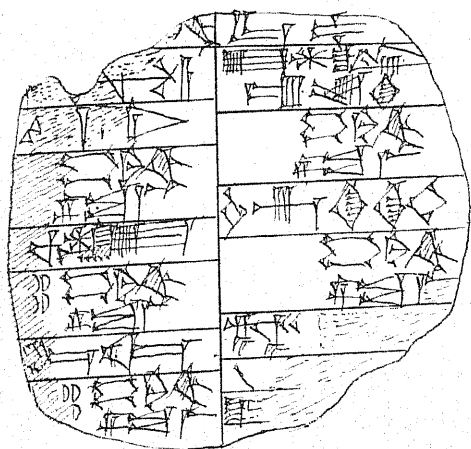




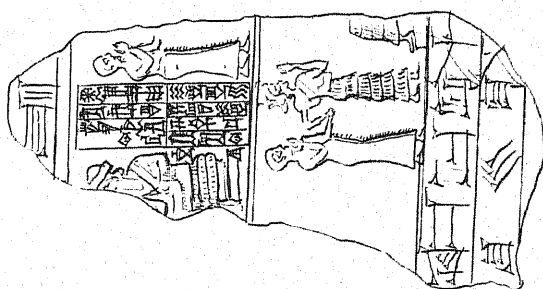
OBV

27  
CBS 8424

REV



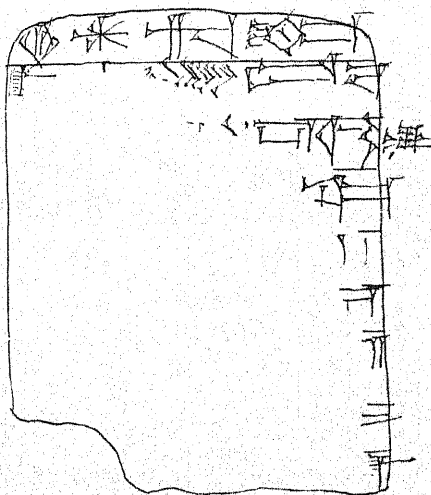
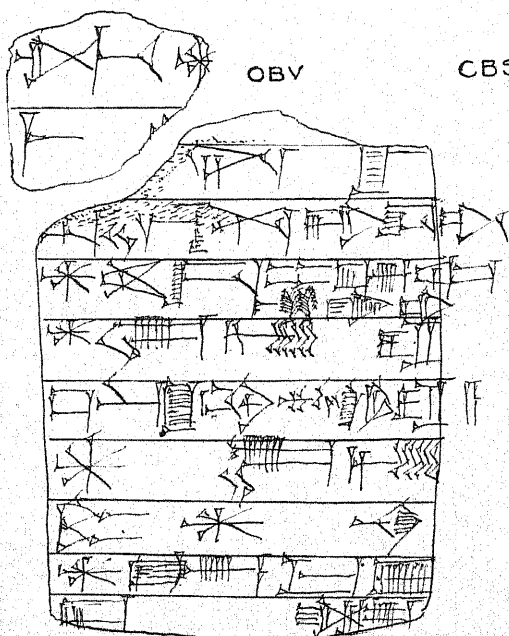
28  
CBS 14193



OBV

29  
CBS 8370

REV





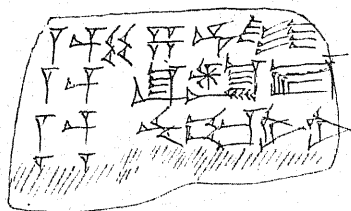


30

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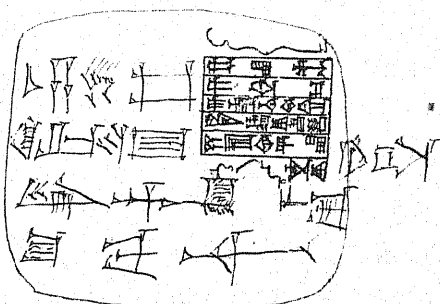
CBS 15066

REV



31

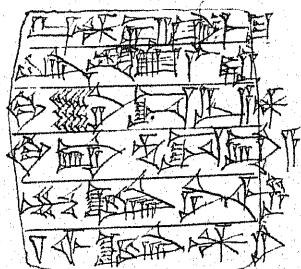
CBS 14177



32

CBS 8234

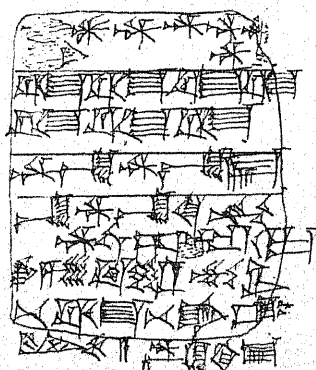
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33

CBS 8235

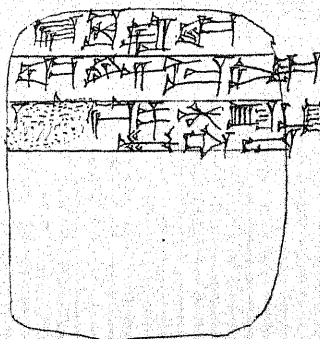
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REV



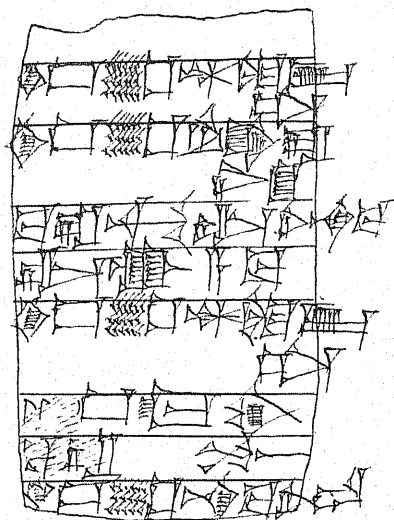
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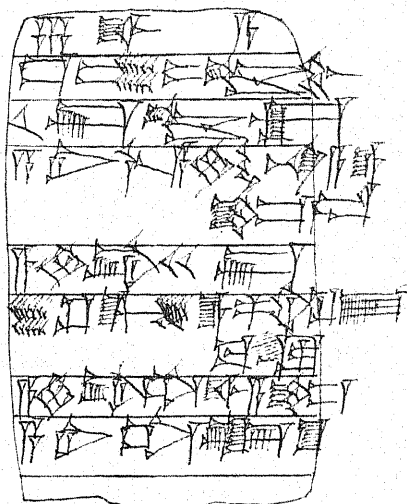


34  
CBS 8381

OBV

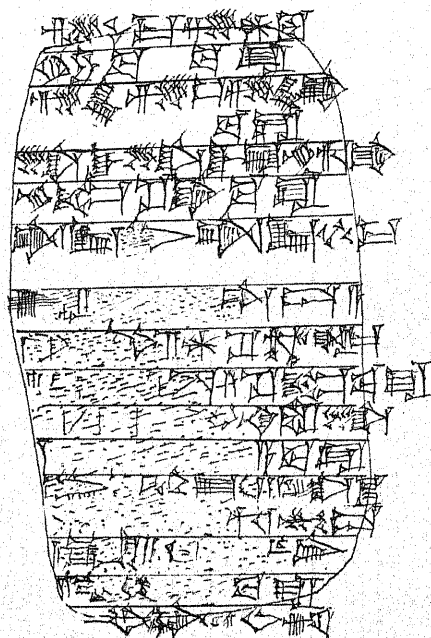


REV

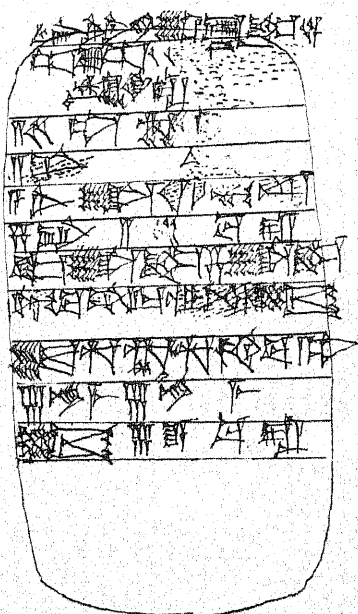


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CBS 8241

OBV

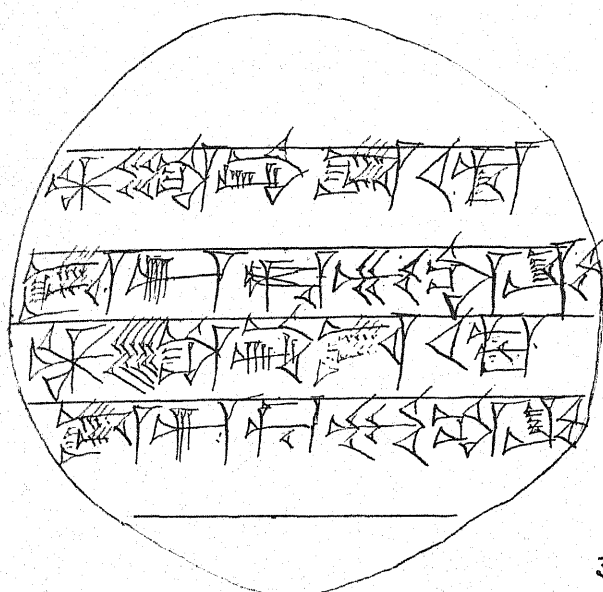


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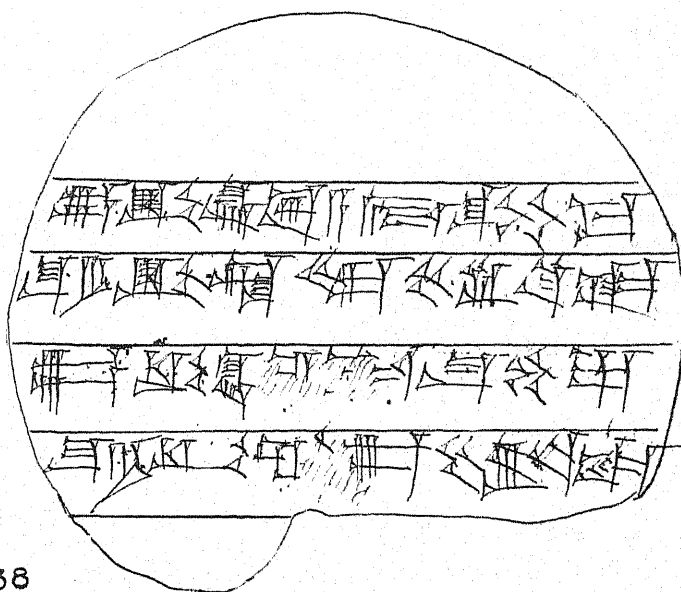




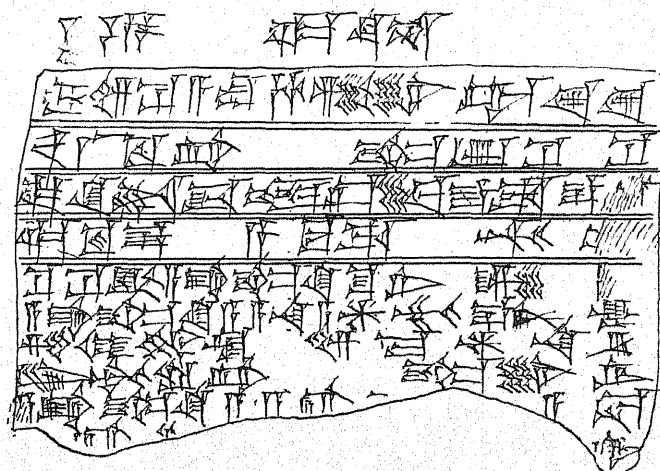
36  
CBS 7874



37  
CBS 14189

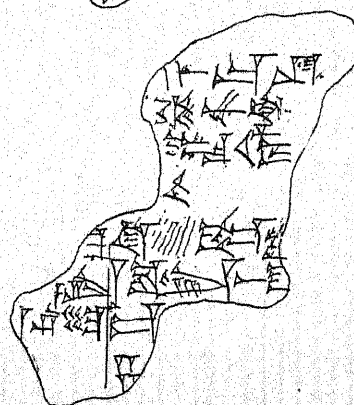
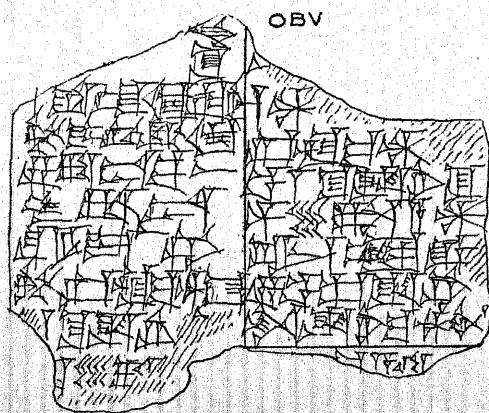


38  
CBS 18188



REV

39  
CBS 14055





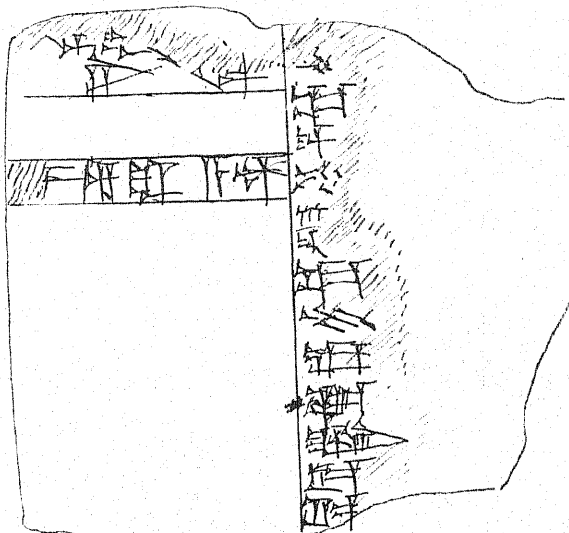
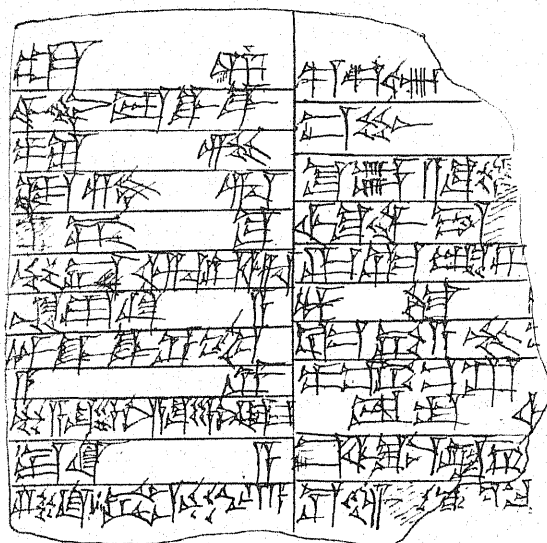


40

OBV

CBS 14081

REV

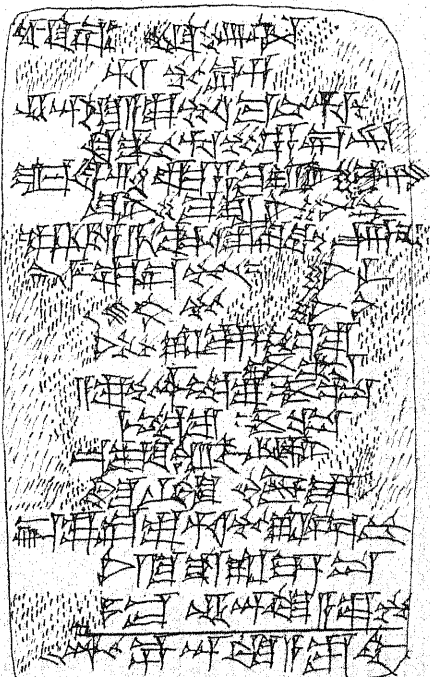
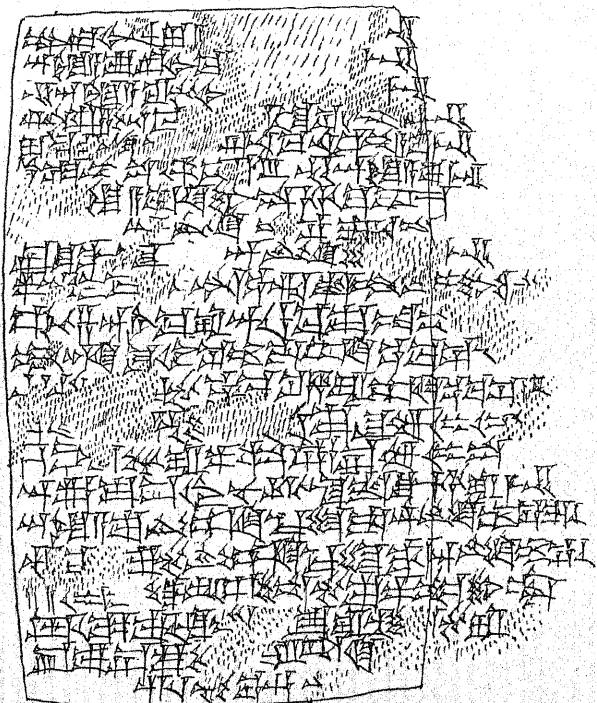


41

OBV

CBS 14214

REV







Handwritten text in a highly stylized, cursive script, possibly a form of shorthand or a specific dialect. The text is densely packed and covers the upper half of the page. The script is characterized by sharp, angular strokes and a high degree of abbreviation. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, with some lines being more densely packed than others. The overall appearance is that of a rapid, shorthand-style writing.

Handwritten text in a highly stylized, cursive script, similar to the one above. This section covers the lower half of the page. The script is consistent with the one above, featuring sharp, angular strokes and a high degree of abbreviation. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, with some lines being more densely packed than others. The overall appearance is that of a rapid, shorthand-style writing.

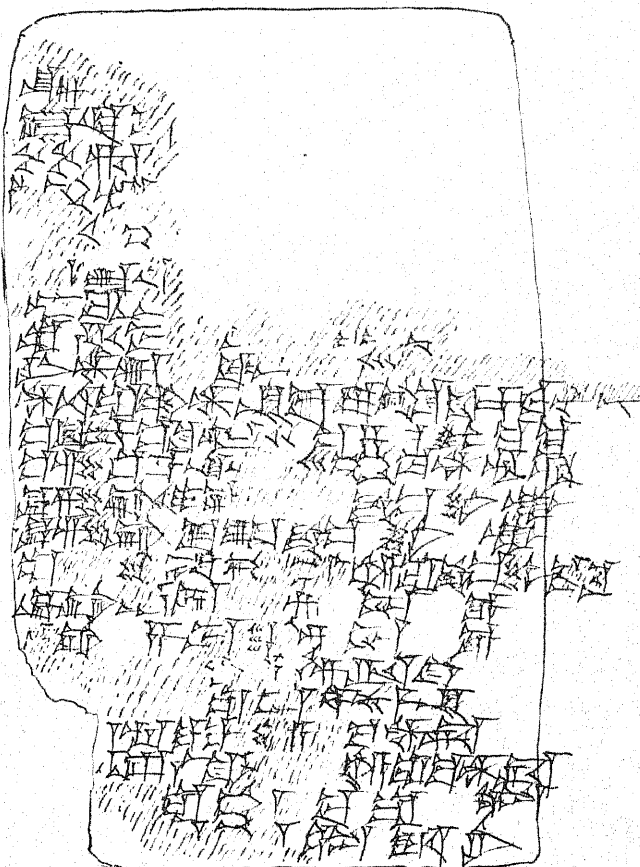
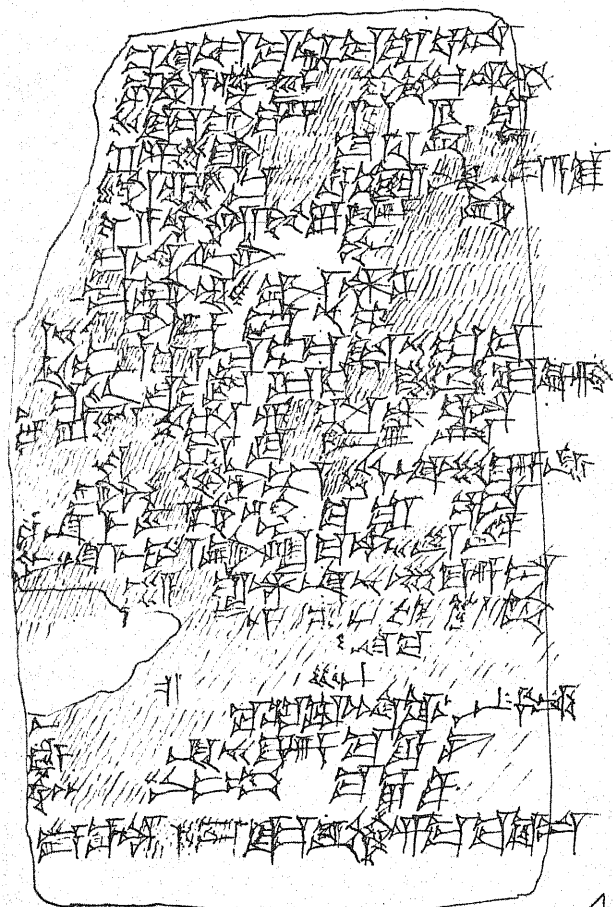


43

OBV

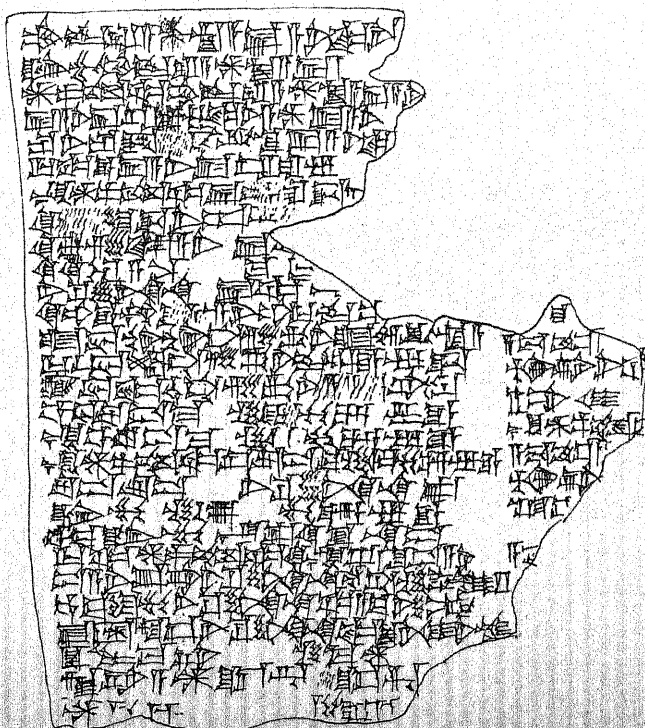
CB5 9233

REV



44

CB5 15207



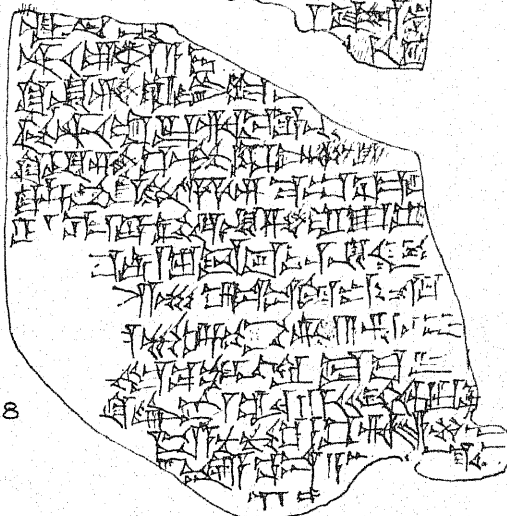
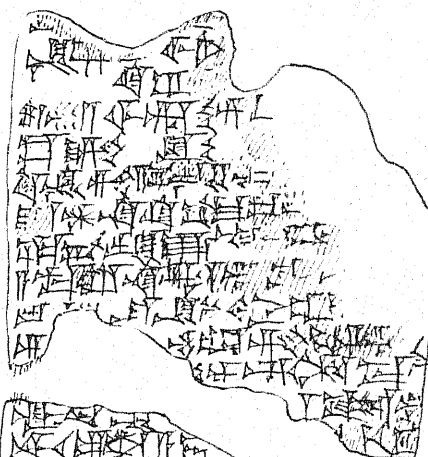
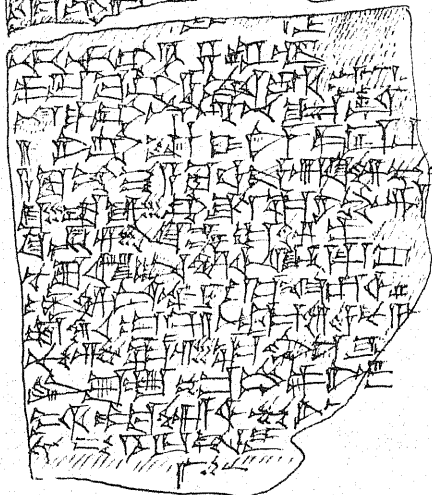
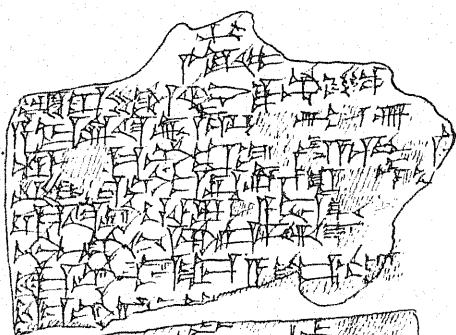


45

CBS 2277 - 2268

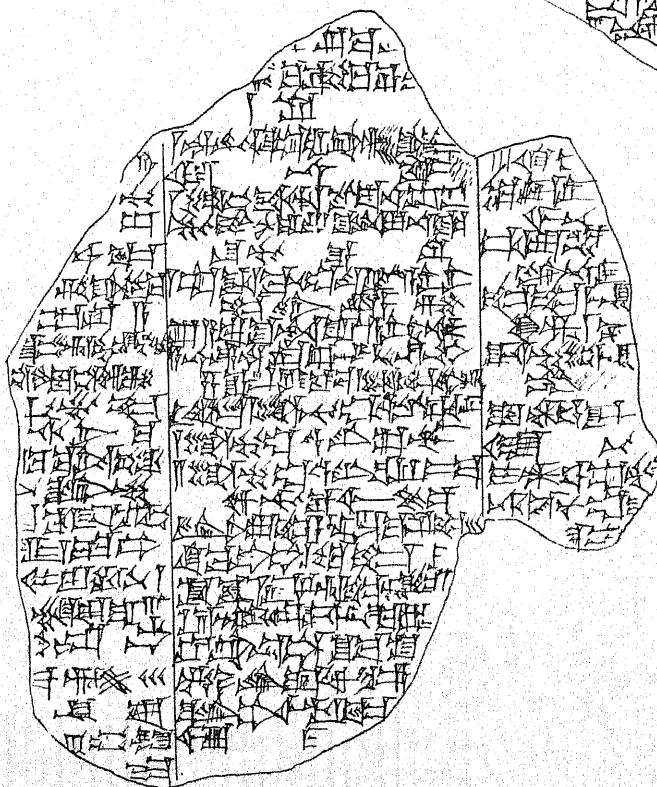
OBV

REV



46

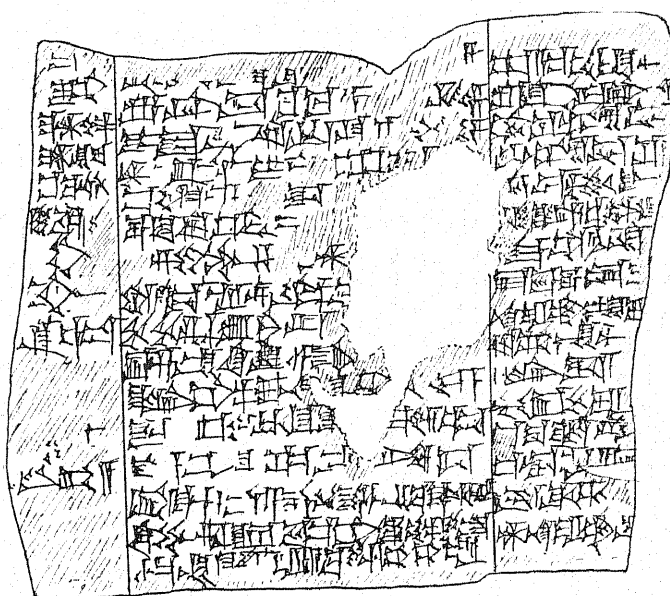
CBS 7848







47  
CBS 7820 - 7830

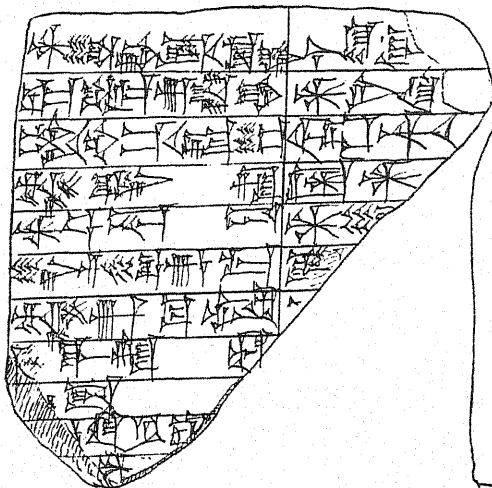


48  
CBS 7849

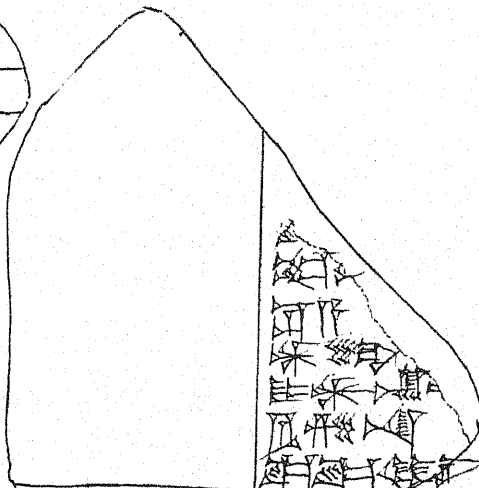




49  
CBS 13967

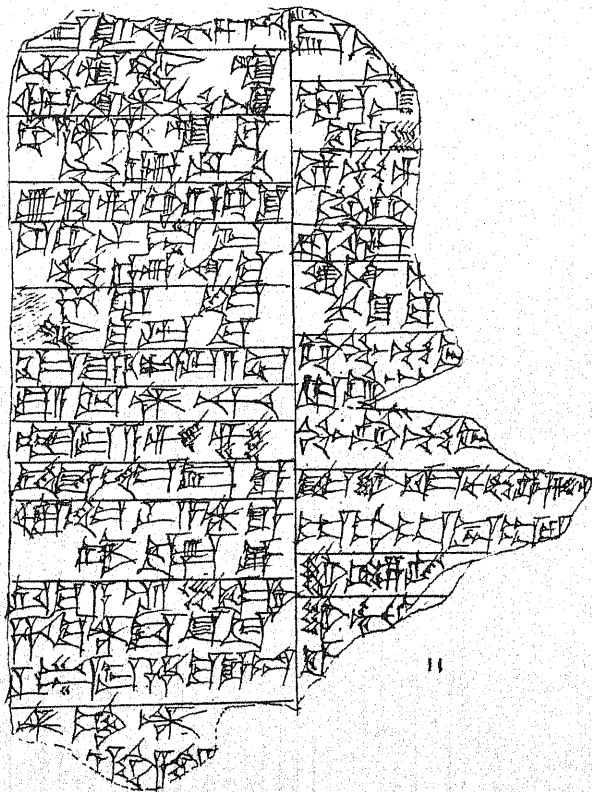


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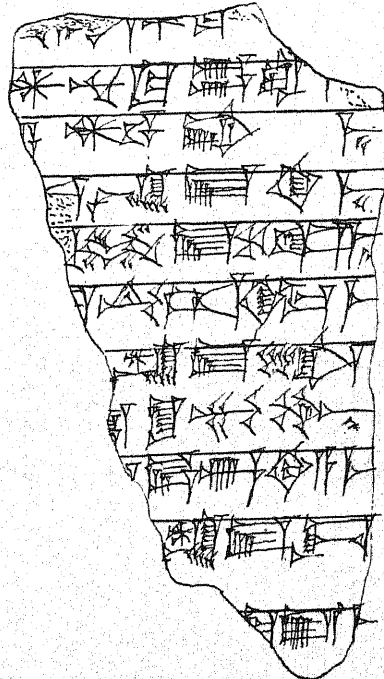
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50  
CBS 14176



I

51  
CBS 8242



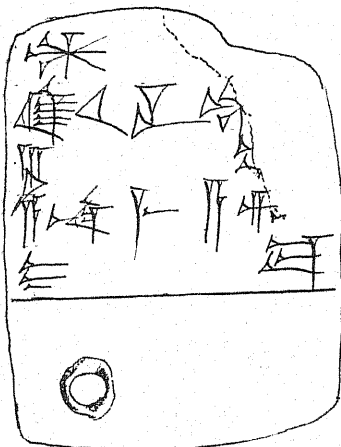
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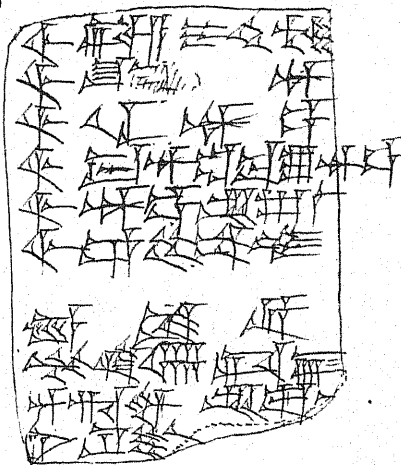
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CB5 14190

OBV



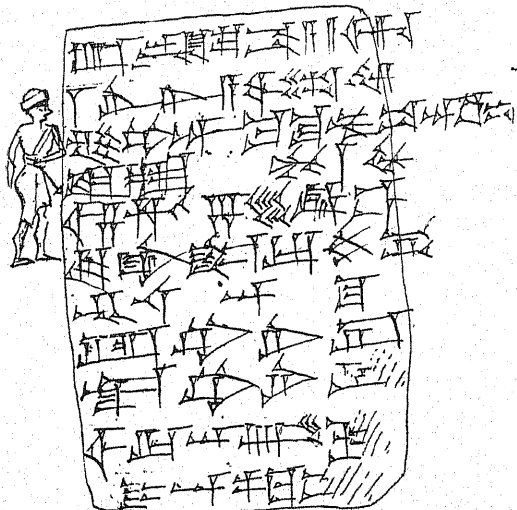
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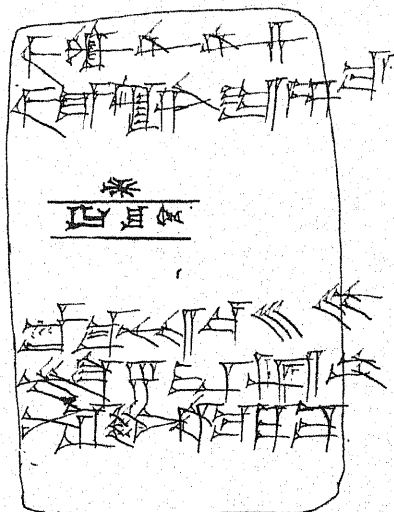
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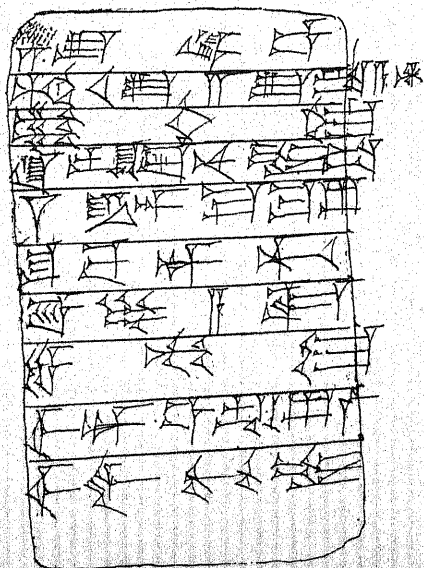
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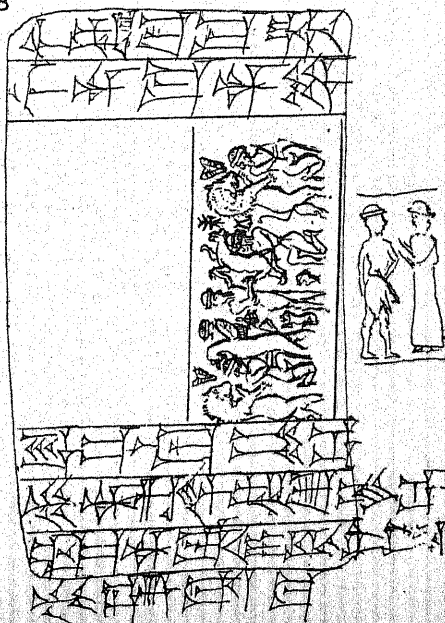
54

CRS 14178

OBV



REV





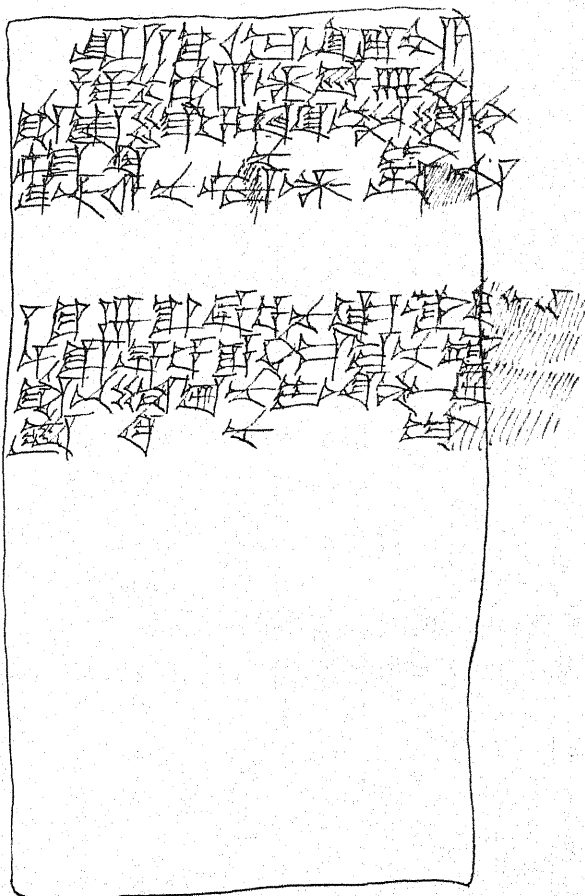
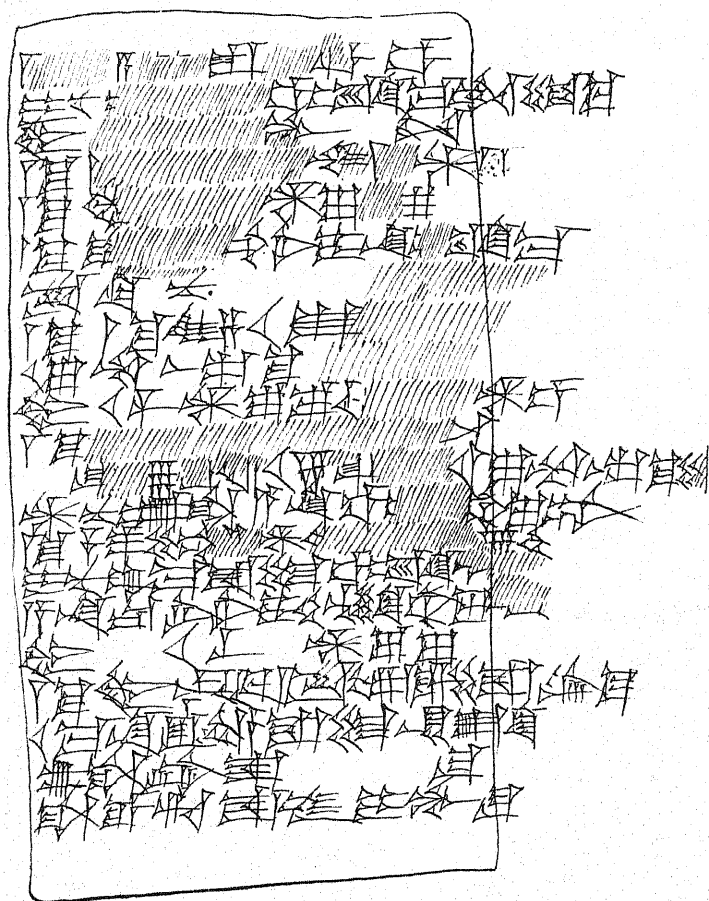


55

CBS 7196

OBV

REV

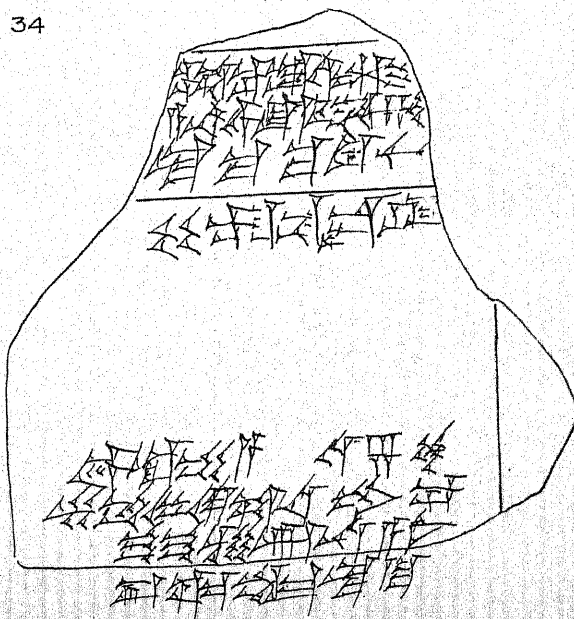
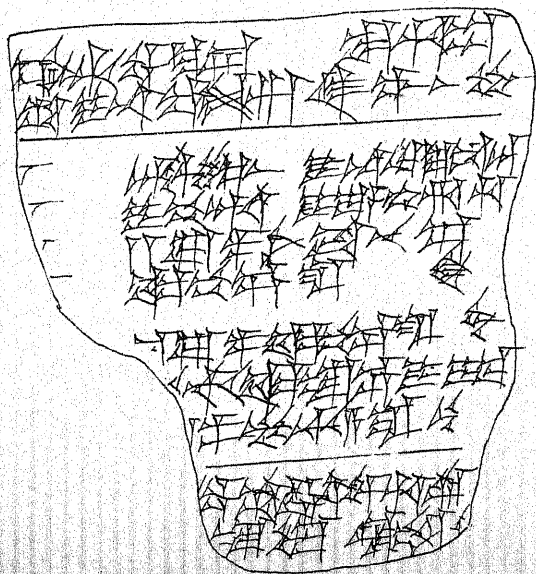


56

CBS 34

CBV

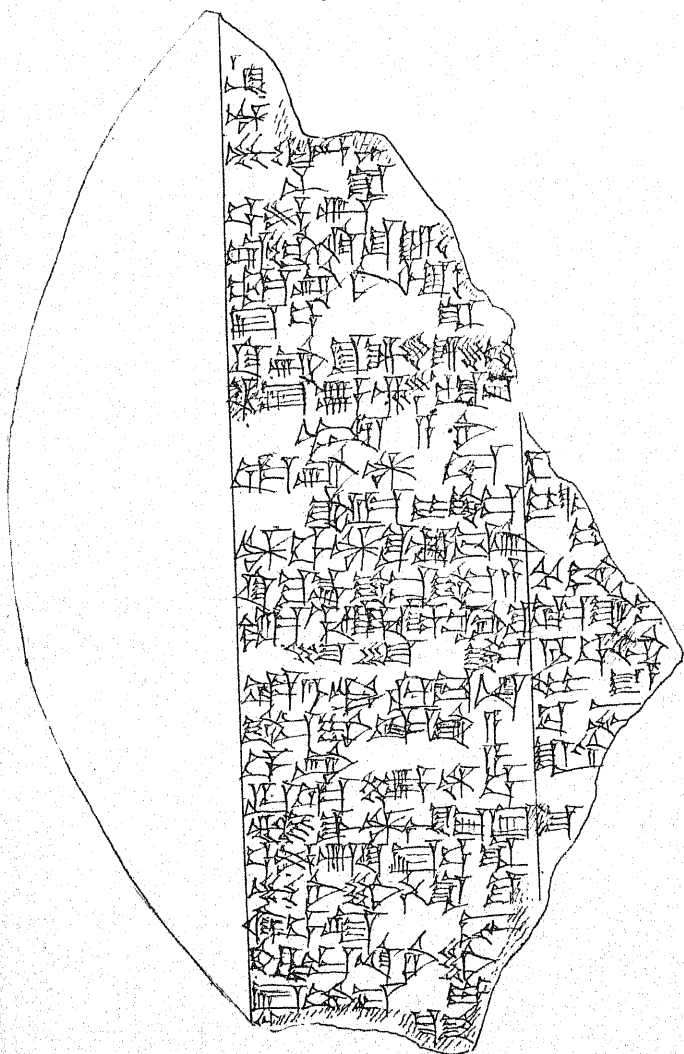
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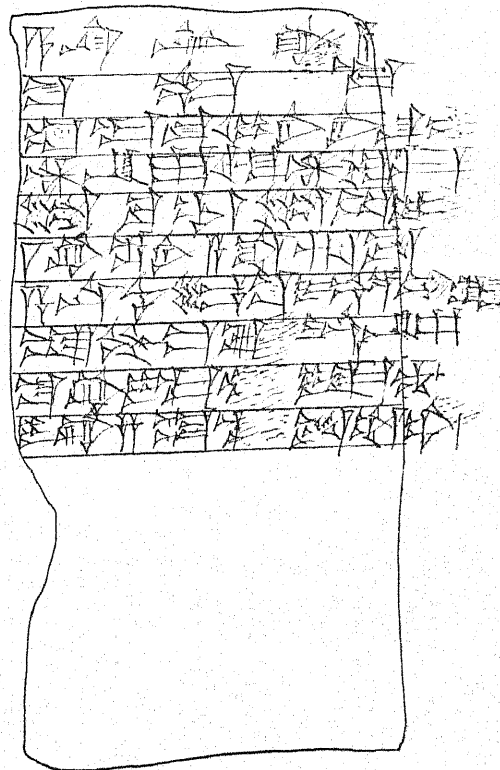
57

CB5 469



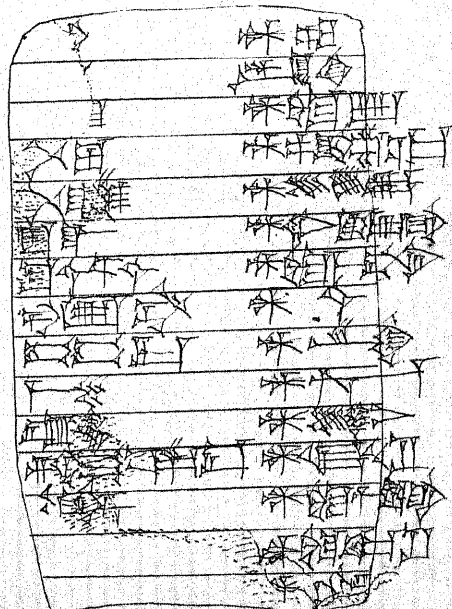
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CB5 8288



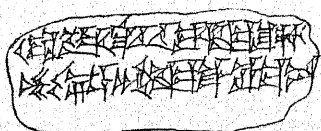
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CB5 8359



59

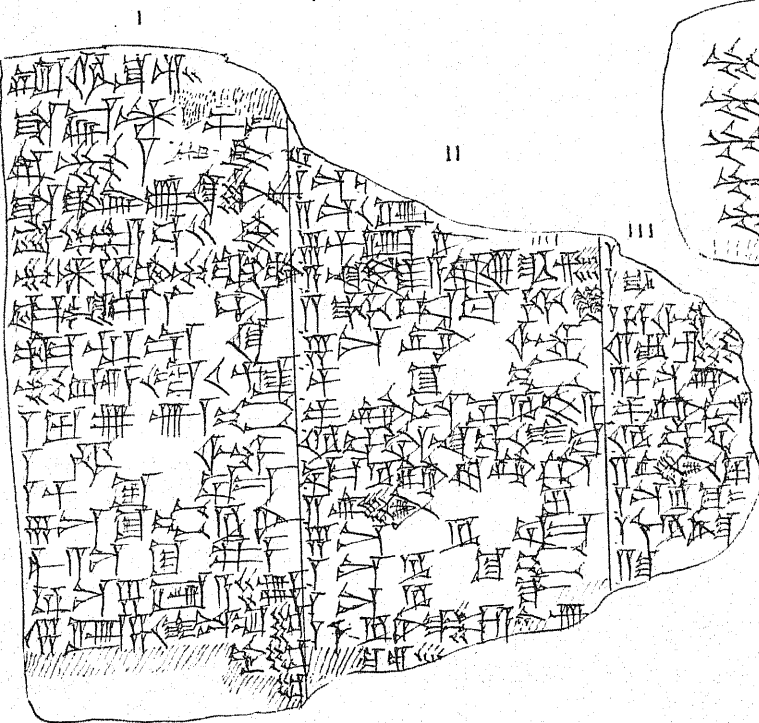
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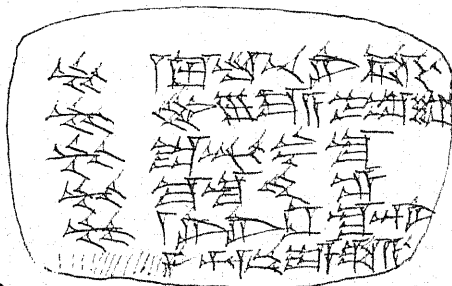
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CBS 14217



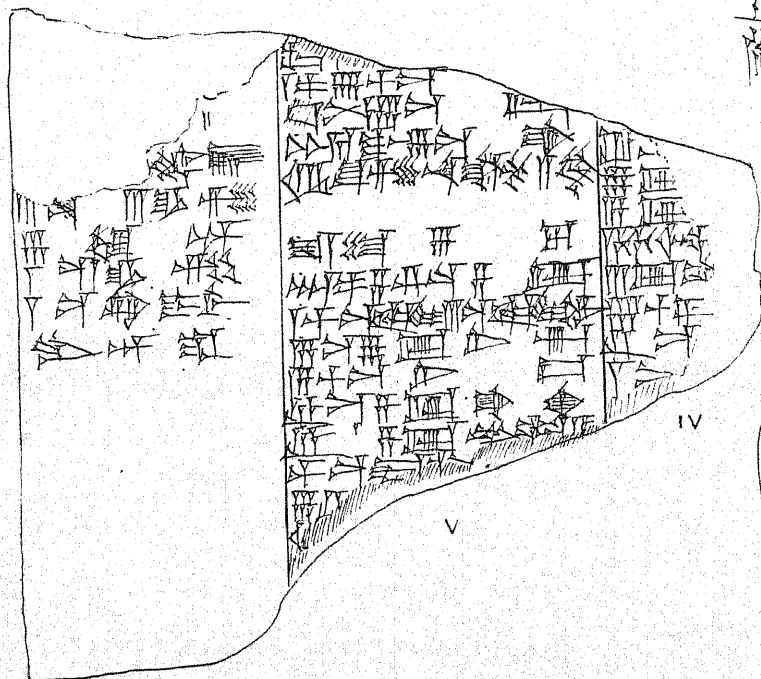
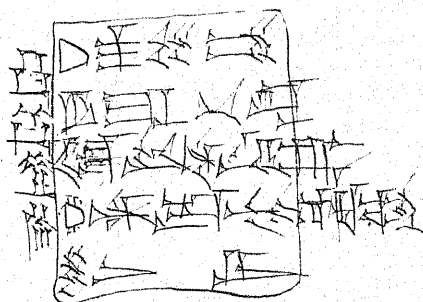
62

CBS 14236

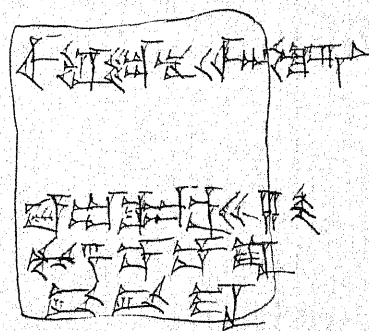


63

CBS 14124



REV



VI



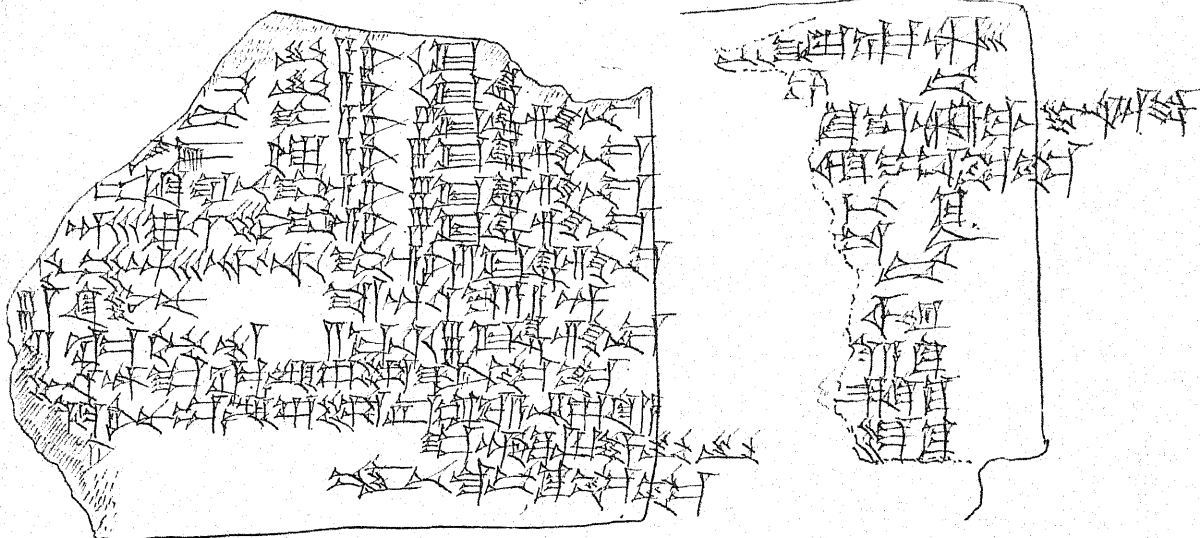


64

OBV

CBS 14198

REV

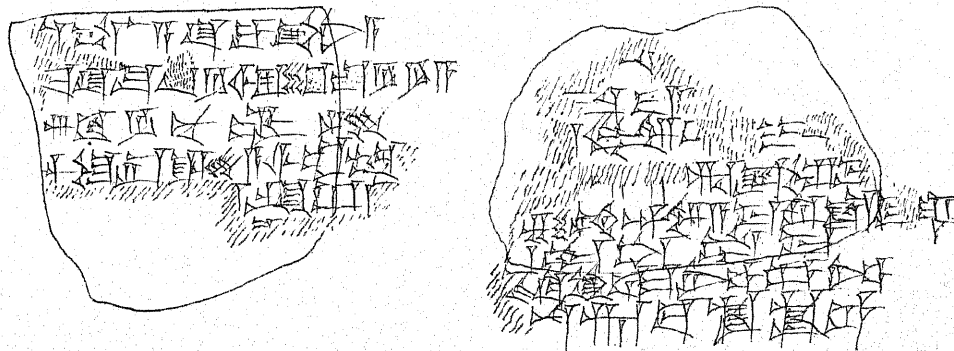


65

OBV

CBS 15120

REV

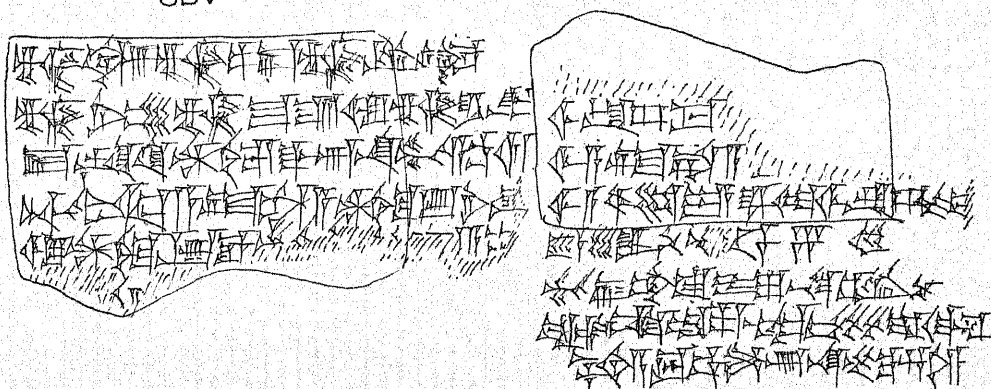


66

OBV

CBS 15121

REV







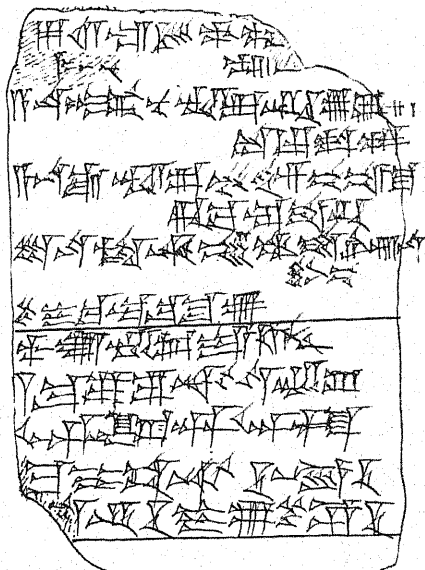
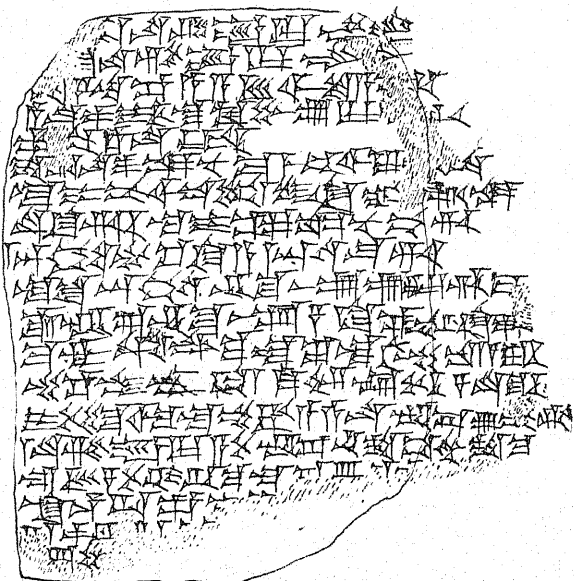


69

CBS 11014

OBY

REV

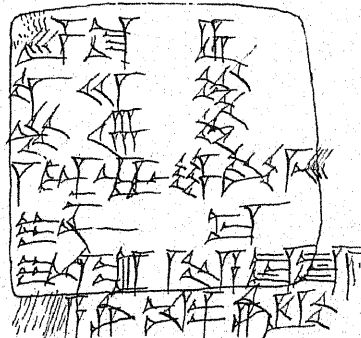
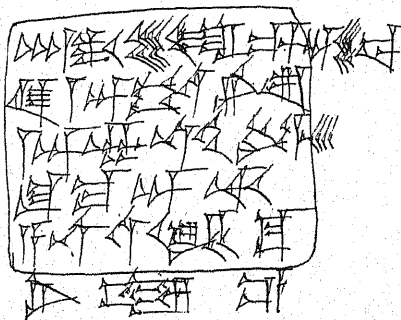


70

CBS 13880

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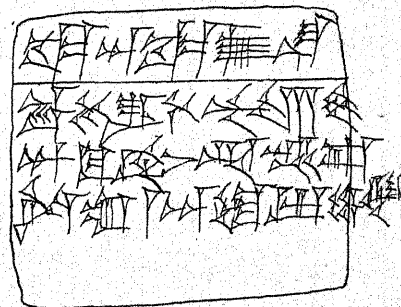
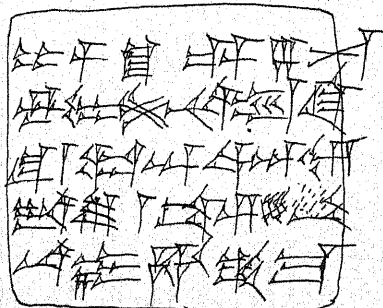


71

CBS 7168

OBY

REV.

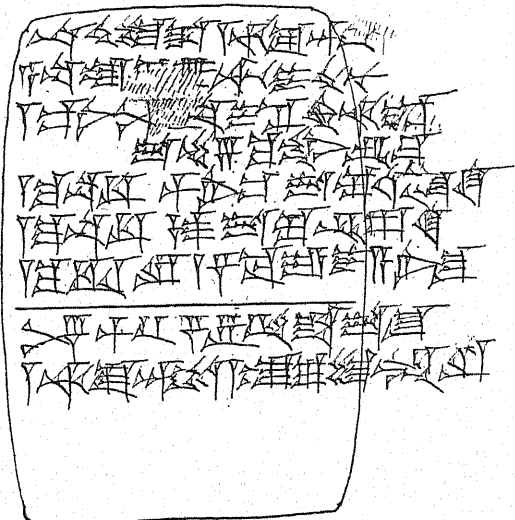






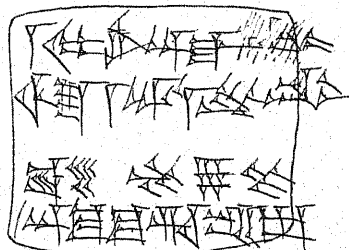
72

CB5 14203



73

CB5 13878

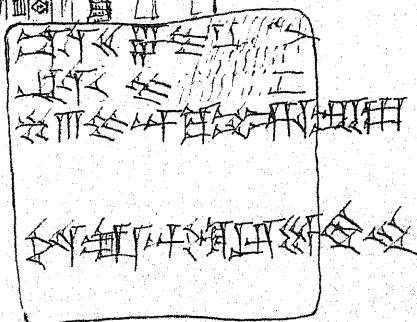
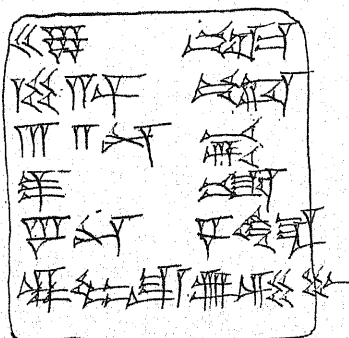


74

CB5 14197

OBV

REV

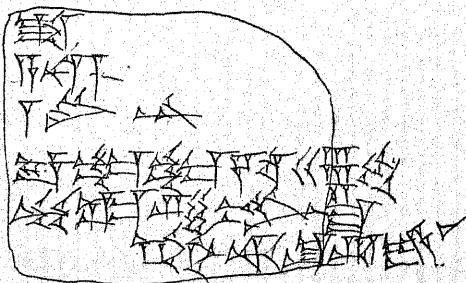


75

CB5 15062

OBV

REV

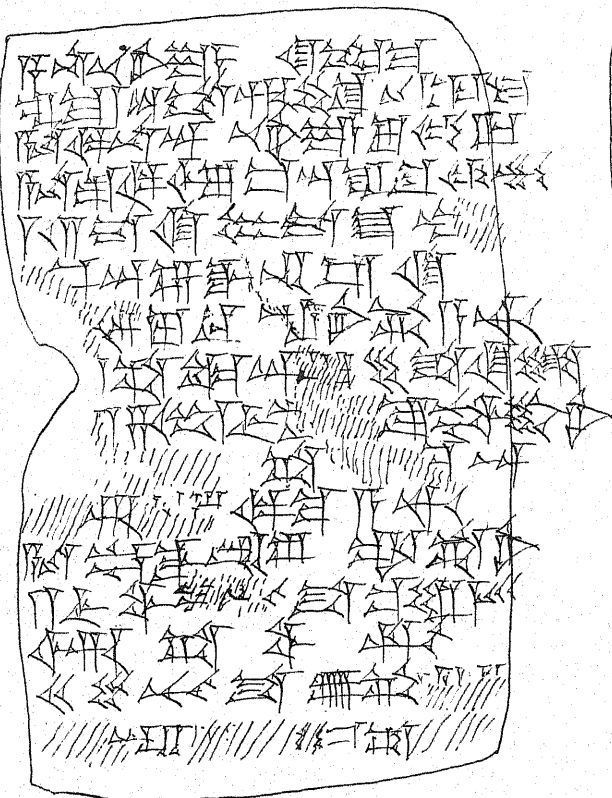




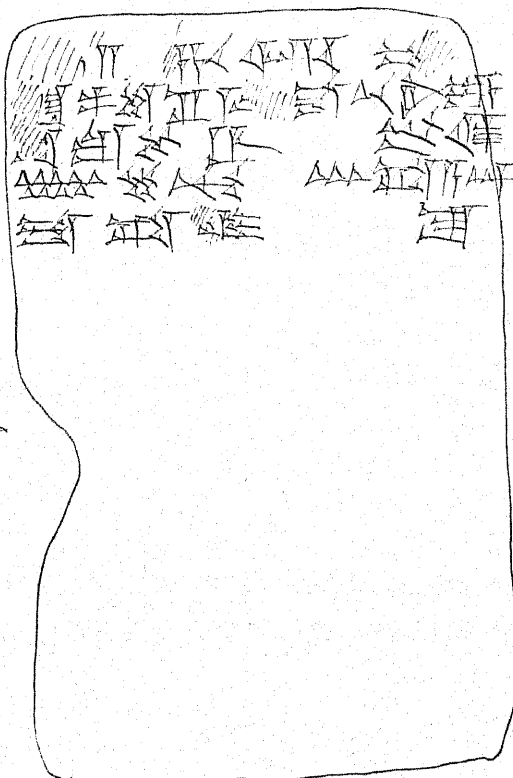
76

CBS 15220

OBV



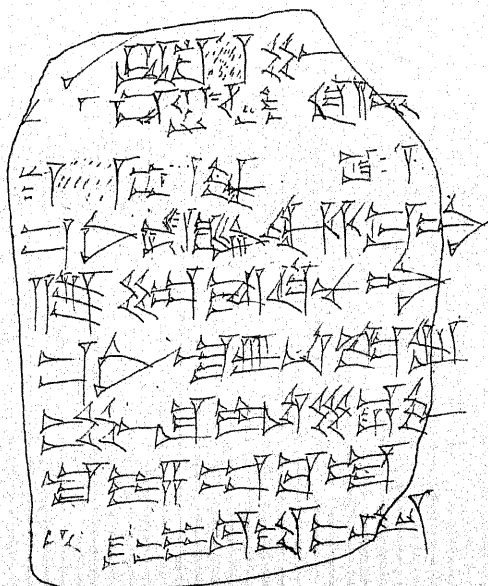
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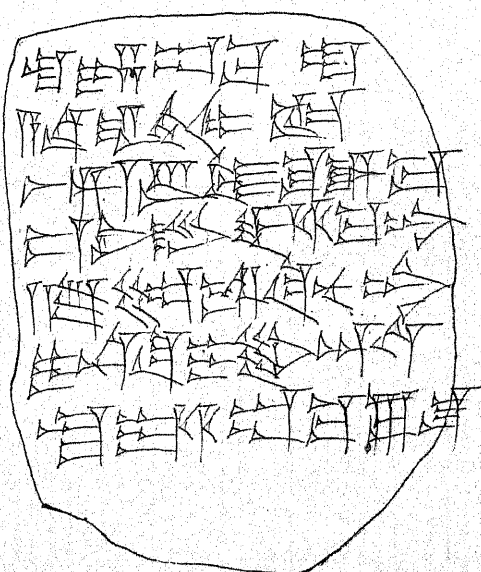
77

CBS 15151

OBV



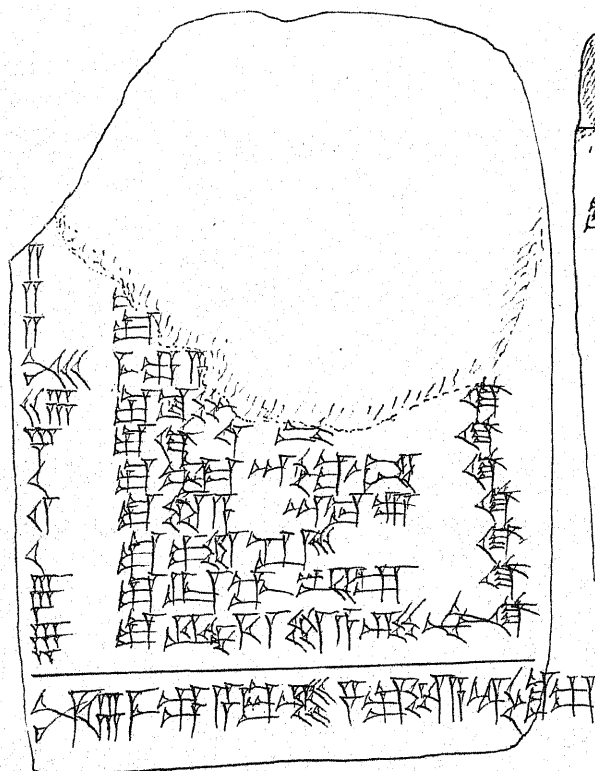
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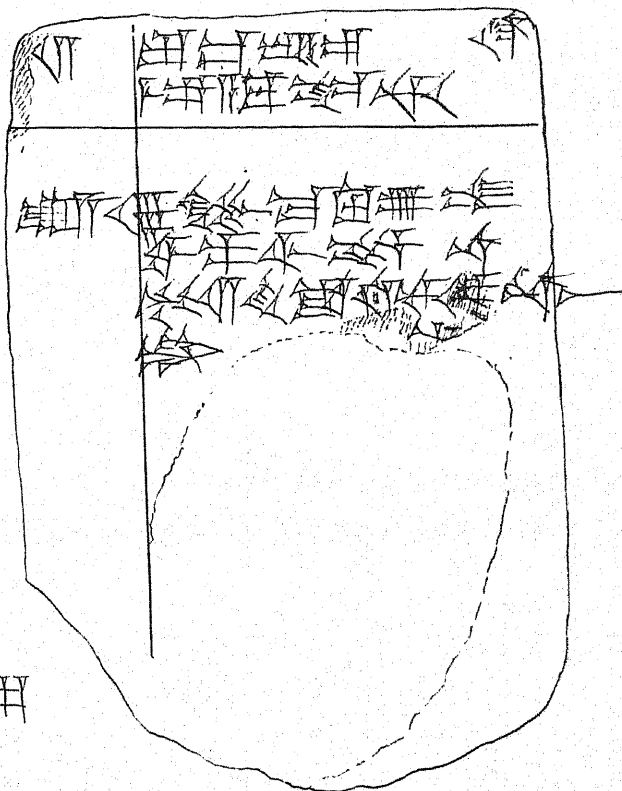


78  
CBS 14135

OBV



REV



79  
CBS 14219

OBV



REV



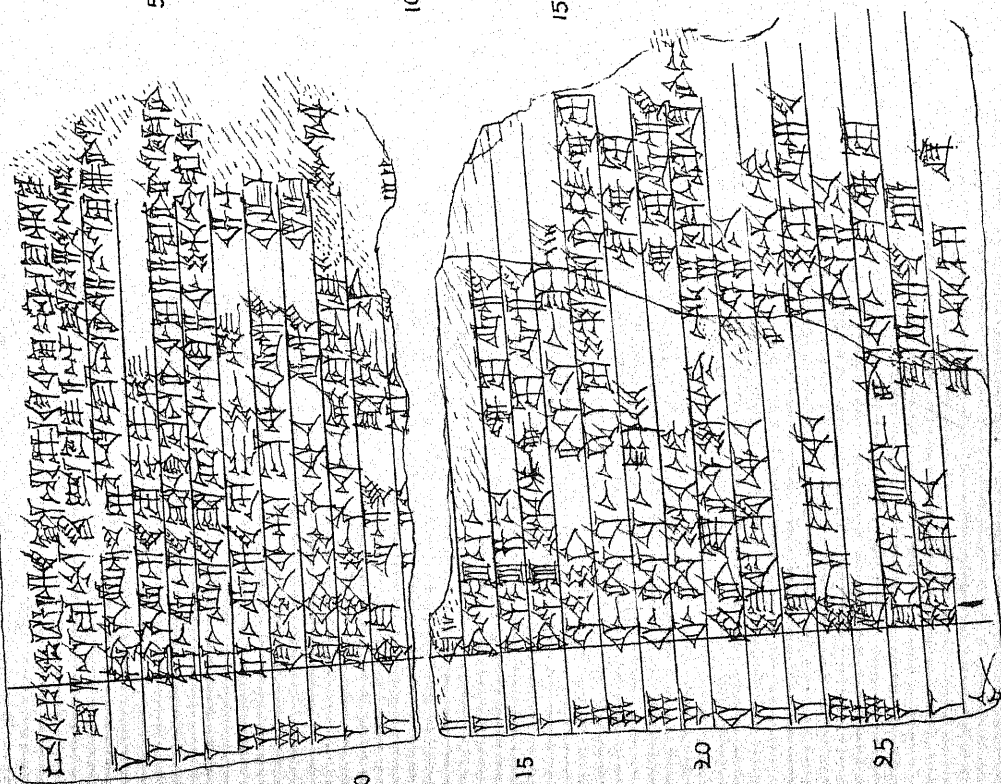
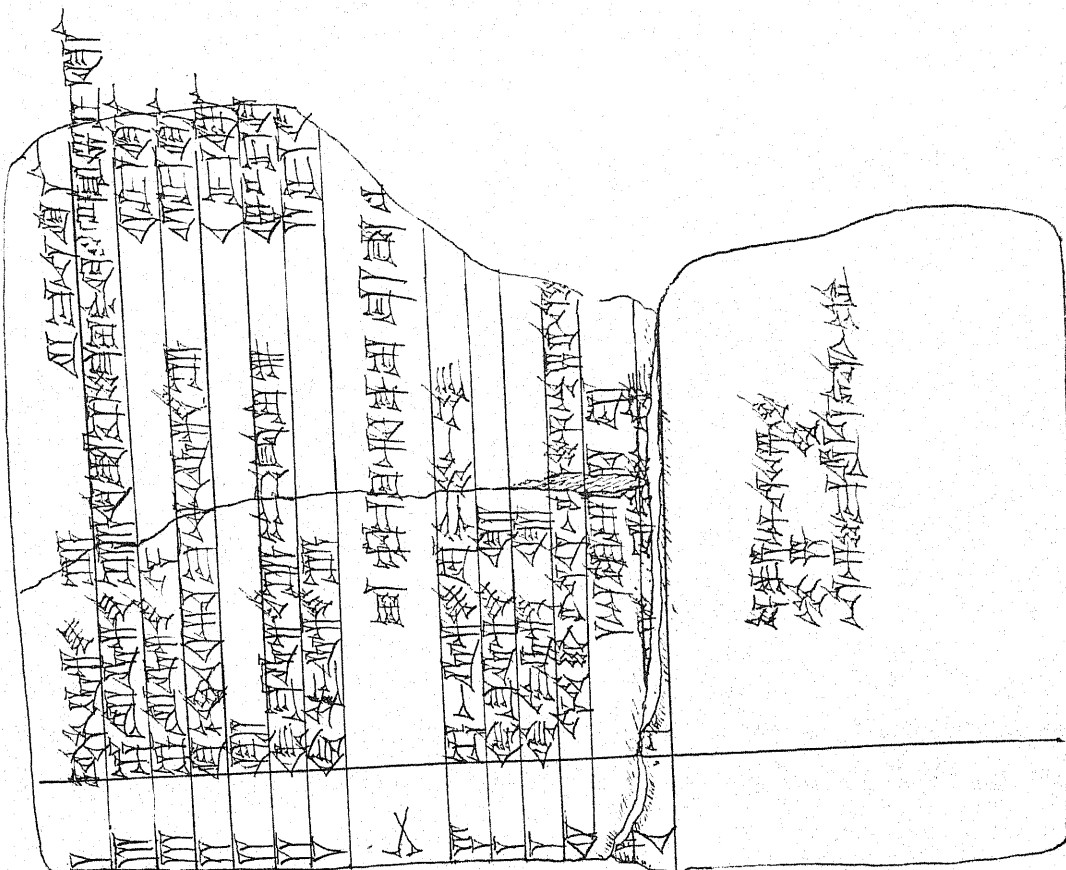




80  
CBS 14180

REV

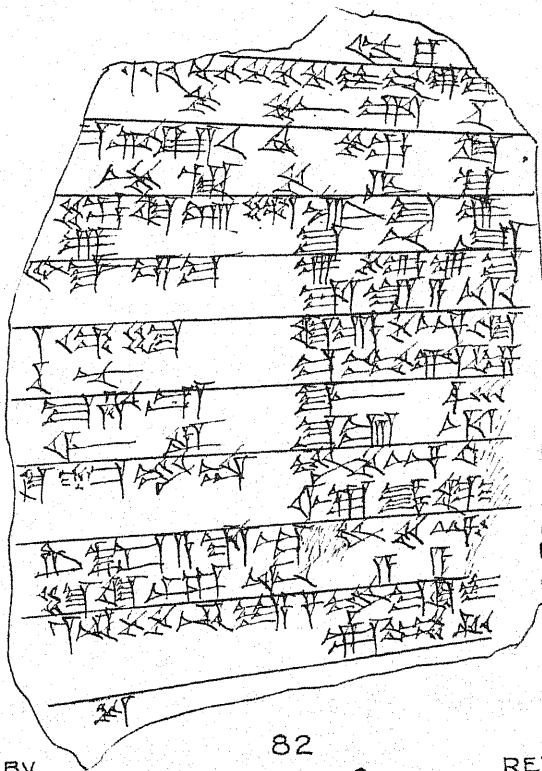
OBV





81

CB5 2350

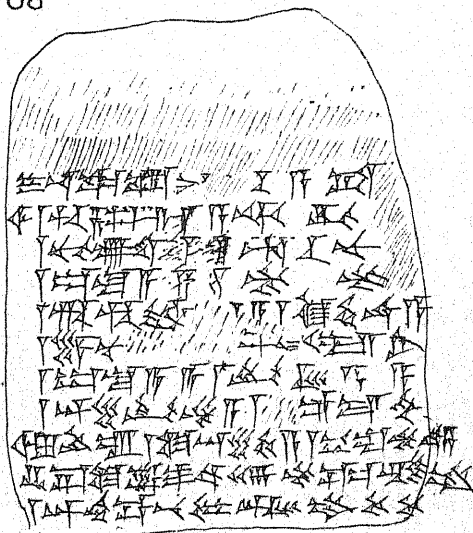
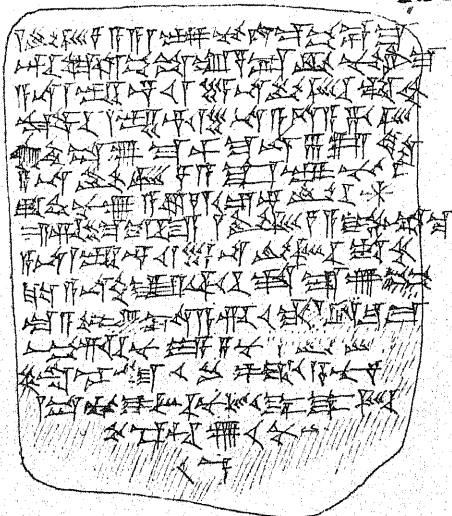


OBV

82

CB5 13708

REV

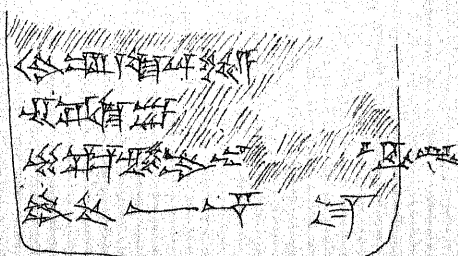
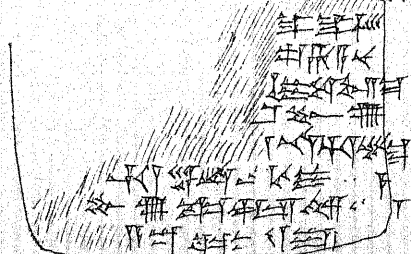


83

OBV

CB5 13707

REV



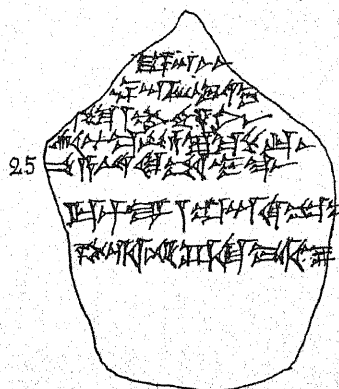
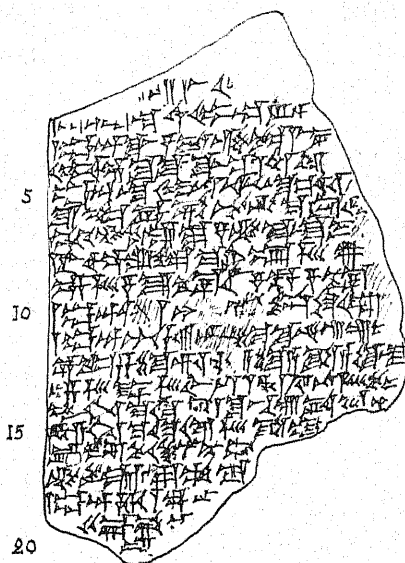
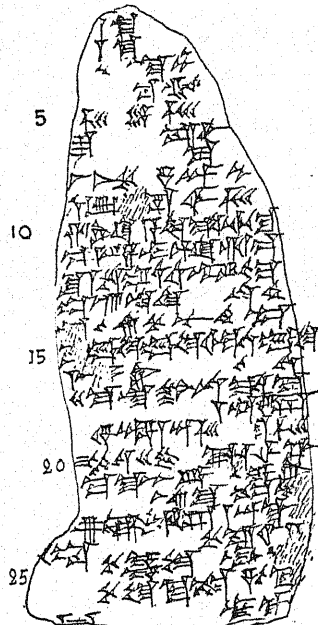


84

CBS 11074

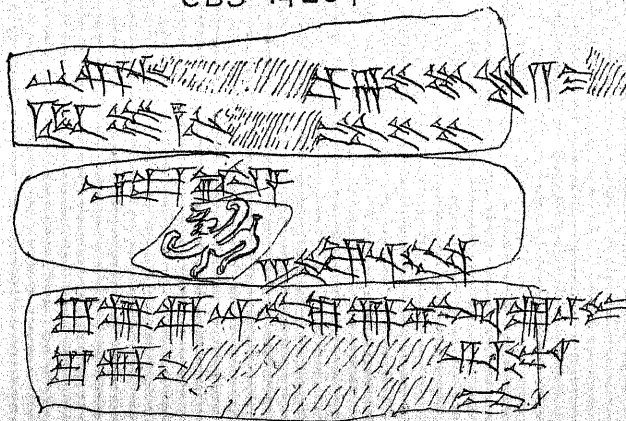
OBV

REV



85

CBS 14204



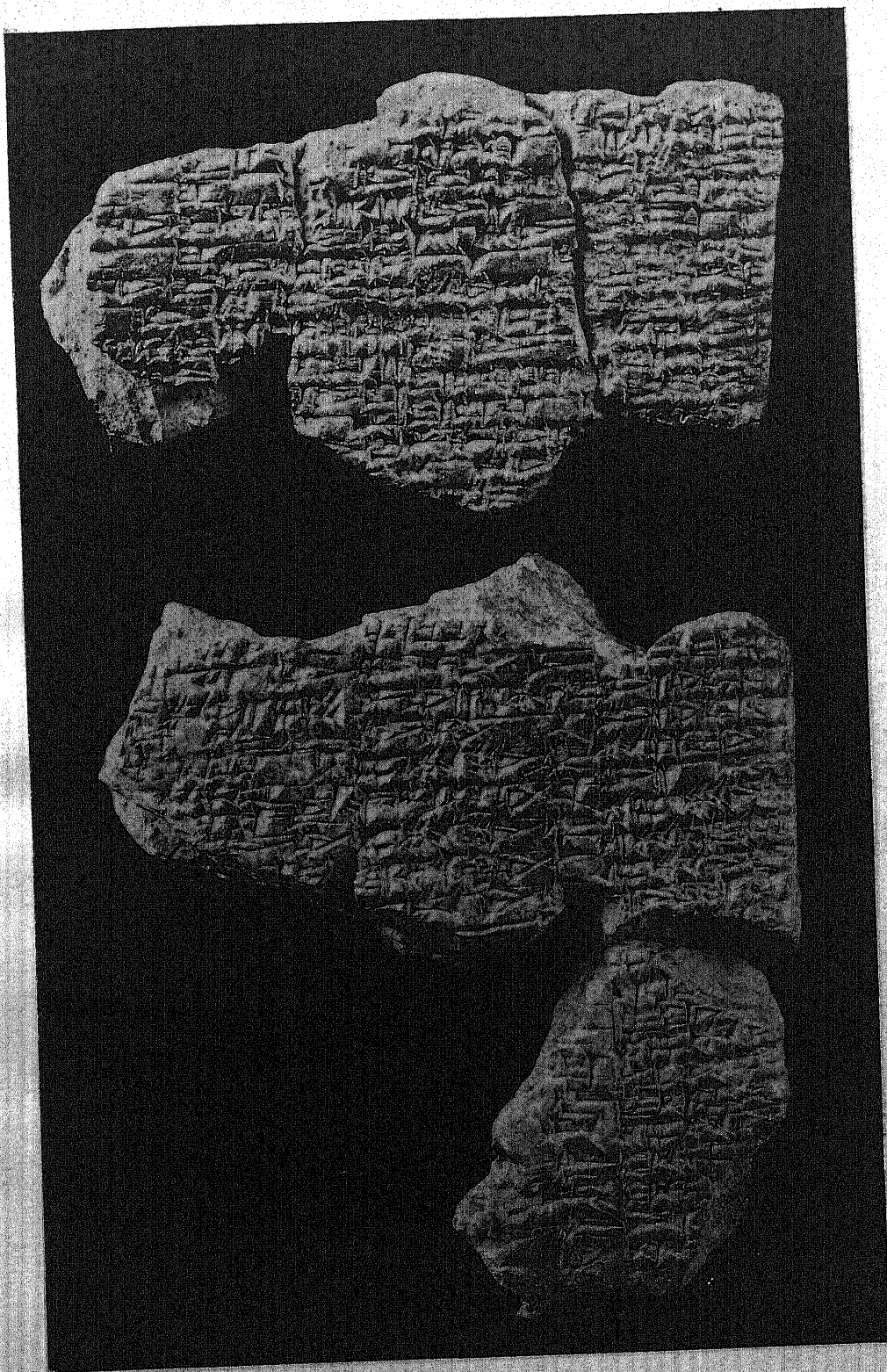






A SEAL GIVEN BY KING IBI-SIN TO THE  
HIGH PRIEST OF ENLIL. No. 5.  
ENLARGED 6 TIMES.  
C. B. S. 12570.





LIST OF KINGS. NO. 1  
C. B. S. 14220.  
ABOVE OBVERSE. BELOW REVERSE

*C*



